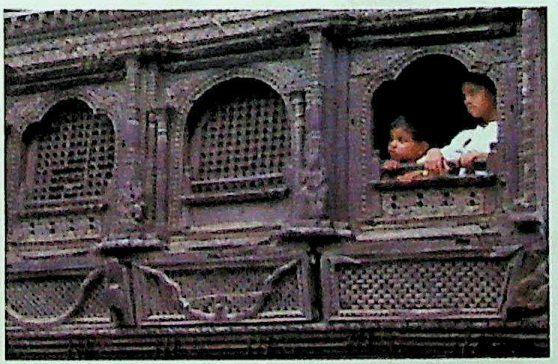
Early History & Culture of Kashmir



Dr. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

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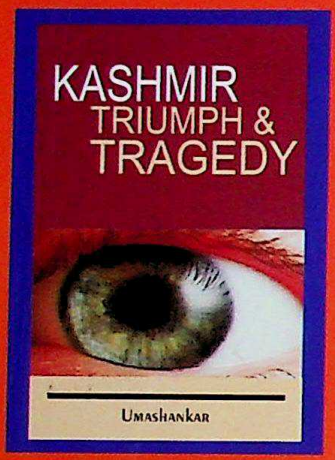
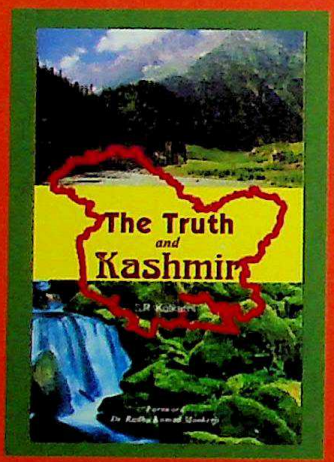
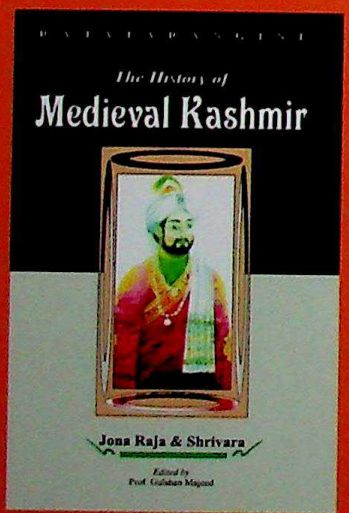
S. K. M. PANIKKAR







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Early History & CULTURE *of* KASHMIR

By
DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

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SARDAR K.M. PANIKKAR

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Title
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Foreworded by:
Sardar K.M. Panikkar

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All of us, I suppose, have varying pictures of our native land and no two persons will think exactly alike. When I think of India, I think of many things ..... and, above all, of the Himalayas, snow-capped, or some mountain valley in Kashmir in the spring, covered with new flowers, and with a brook bubbling and gurgling through it. We make and preserve the pictures of our choice, and so I have chosen the mountain background rather than the more normal picture of a hot, sub-tropical country.

.... Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*

PUBLISHER'S SUBMISSION

I am highly indebted to my revered respected and most remembered father Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad, himself a scion of an illustrious and noble family of publishers and printers, for introducing me to a trade which was to him a life time passion and which in turn became for me my only passion, engagement and my identity. Whatever our family stands for is the outcome of a long, strenuous and continuous struggle to help create among our Kashmiri brethren a desire for learning, an urgency to enter the world of books and curiosity for knowledge.

It is no exaggeration to claim that ours was the concern which worked solicitously for the preservation, printing and publication of manuscripts which where otherwise fast deteriorating, unattended and unread in various dark dingy and damp "sites". We brought them to light and made the world aware of, and more responsive to them.

My grandfather Sheikh Abdul Gaffar is credited with the introduction of publication and printing of books way back in the early days of twentieth century by an arrangement with the *Lahore Steam Press* run by Hafiz-ullah. From his book house at Chattabal which then was the hub of business activities in Srinagar, he initiated printing and publication auspiciously with *Aurad-i-Fatiha* and *Aurad-i-Qadriya*.

But before my grandfather could consolidate his trade and get my father introduced to its niceties he passed away.

My father, who was yet uninitiated to and un-ordained in the world of Books, had to bend his back to carry out the most sacred job of his life. He soon found Chattabal, too, small for his expanding work and established the concern *Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad & Sons Tajran-e-Kutub* at Maharaj Ganj Srinagar and then subsequently the most well known, awe inspiring concern Haji Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad and Sons at Maisuma Bazar, Budshah Chowk Srinagar.

Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad considered publication of Books a sacred duty, a national obligation and a service to mankind. He was the president of Book Sellers and Publishers Association till his death in February 23,1999 which was mourned by millions of Kashmiris; while others come and go he is the person who stands alluringly alone, aloft and above all.

As a lesser mortal and a man of humble ambitions I have dedicated my life in the service of men to facilitate their urge to know more and to help them achieve the most cherished goals of learning and knowledge.

The present publication is a part of our endeavors to preserve our heritage and help it reach to the broader *World of Book-Lovers*.

We highly thank our well wishers and assure them that we would never allow ourselves the comforts of rest till we achieve our objective - the *dissemination* of knowledge in Kashmir. Have trust in us and let us have your good wishes.

Publisher

FOREWORD

Dr. S. C. Ray's History of Kashmir is an outstanding piece of research on a very important region of India. From at least the third century B.C. Kashmir played a very important part in Indian historical developments. Situated on the borders of Central Asia and always in close contact with the steppe civilisations of Turkestan, it became early in its history, the organised base from which Indian civilisation penetrated into the vast territories lying between China and the Caspian. Notably in the great work of spreading Buddhism, and Sanskrit literature on which Mahayana Buddhism was based, the part played by Kashmir was decisive. The conversion of intermediate kingdom of Kuchi seems to have been the work of Kashmirian scholars. We know from the life of Kumarajiva that it was customary for youngmen of Kuchi to be sent to Kashmir for higher learning. Through Kuchi and Khotan the influence of Kashmirian scholars spread to China and in the list of learned monks from India preserved in the records of China, those from Kashmir hold a high place.

Walled off by high mountains and endowed with unequalled natural beauty, Kashmir remained an inviolate sanctuary of Indian Culture, till at least the 14th century. Buddhism, Saivism and Sanskrit learning flourished in the valley and produced a remarkably rich culture till the Muslim conquest overturned the social structure of Kashmir. The integration of Kashmir life was so complete that one of his most remarkable books that Kshemendra, who was himself a Saivaite, produced was on the Avadanas of the Buddha, a classic in later Buddhist literature.

Though it was but seldom till the time of the Moghuls that the plains of India politically dominated the Kashmirian uplands and equally it was only on rare occasions that the monarchs of Kashmir tried to penetrate into the plains, the cultural, religious and literary life of the valley seems at least from Asoka's time to have been closely integrated with the life of the Punjab and the Gangetic Valley. So far as Buddhism is concerned, we have very full evidence of this. But equally important and indeed so far as India is concerned, much more far reaching has been the development of Advaita Saivism in Kashmir. The Trika Sasana associated with Vasugupta and Kallata seems to have arisen in the 9th century and may have been the result of the great Samkaracharya's visit to that

country which tradition affirms and which we have no reason to doubt. The monism of the Trika Sasana is a notable instance of Advaita Vedanta's influence on religion and is probably the earliest religious expression of Samkara's philosophical system. Kashmirian Tantrism on Kaula marga also takes on this monism and combines the ancient forms of Devi-worship with the philosophical tenets of Advaita. The influence of the Kaula form of worship is felt even now in every part of India, from far off Kerala in the south to the Himalayan Valleys in the north and may well be claimed to be one of the major contributions of Kashmir to the life of India.

So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, apart from alamkara sastra in which Kashmirians seem to have excelled, the names of *Somadeva, Kshemendra, Damodaragupta, Bilhana* and *Kalhana* stand out as a brilliant galaxy of genius adding lustre to the history of Sanskrit literature. Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara,* one of the undisputed masterpieces of the world may well be claimed to be the epic of the middle classes, a unique work which almost compensates us for the loss of Gunadhya's original. Of the later poets of Sanskrit the only one who could be compared with him is Hemachandra Suri. Kshemendra was perhaps the most comprehensive mind of his time, who wandered into every field including satire, with distinction. Of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* it is unnecessary to say anything as the present Volume bears ample witness to his merit as a historical document. Thus at least till the Muslim conquest of the valley, Kashmir could claim to have been in the vanguard of Indian culture, with notable contributions to every aspect of Indian life.

Dr. Ray, in his present volume, brings out clearly these unique characteristics of Kashmir history. Not only does he give a connected narrative of Kashmir's political evolution based on all available sources, literary, archaeological, numismatic, foreign allusions etc. but brings out the cultural, religious and social development of the people of the valley. Though a few of his suggestions would appear to be based on insufficient evidence and there may be room for differences of opinion on others, it is in my opinion a model of what such regional histories ought to be and I congratulate Dr. Rayon producing a work of great value on an area which should be better known to the people of India as a whole.

K M Panikkar

INTRODUCTION

The term 'Early' is defined, for the purpose of the present study as Vincent Smith defined it in his *Early History of India*, to denote a period ranging from the dawn of history to the establishment of Muslim rule. We have to start with some semi-historical, semi-legendary anecdotes, for our earliest, extant, written information of Kashmir, which comes from the pen of Kalhana, is but a fardel of vague legends and myths with a little of history here and there. We stop at the year 1338 A.D. when the Valley passes into the hands of Muslim rulers. The era opening with the accession of the Karkotas to the throne of Kashmir and closing with the termination of Hindu rule is often dubiously dubbed 'medieval' by scholars. But 'medieval' is an expression that seems equally suitable for the years running between Shahmera and Akbar or perhaps, even Gulab Singh. So I name my dissertation *Early History and Culture of Kashmir* to demarcate what goes before Shahmera from what follows him in the history of the 'secluded vale'.

The sources, we have to draw upon, may be divided under two broad heads – Archaeological and Literary. Under archaeology come inscriptions, coins and monuments. A few inscriptions of ancient Kashmir have survived and they include a Brahmi inscription of about the 4th century A.D. from Harwan that announces the traditional Buddhist creed *Ye dharma hetuprabhava* etc.; a fragmentary inscription from the temple of Martanda; two inscriptions of queen Didda's time; and a Sarada inscription from Arigom dated 1197 A.D. Except that four out of the five epigraphic documents are connected with the cult of the prince of the Sakyas, they have little historical significance. Coins, generally crude, lacking variety of types as well as artistic quality, yet appear to portray the general economic condition of the country and confirm the succession of rulers from the time of Samkaravarman onwards as evinced by the Chronicle of the land. Numerous ancient monuments, datable from *c.* 4th century A.D. to the 12th, have survived time's cruel onslaught to bear rude but reliable testimony to the heterogeneous art-history of the land.

Literary sources include both foreign and indigenous material. Greek writers like Hecataeus, Herodotus, Dionysios, Nonnos and Ptolemy had heard about Kashmir and Ptolemy seems to have possessed some idea of its geographical location,

but it were the Chinese who could and did maintain more intimate relations with this neighbouring kingdom. Over and above a few important notices taken by the historians of the Tang period, we find in the accounts of two celebrated pilgrims, Hiuen Tsang and Ou-kong details about Kashmir and her people. Both these writers passed several years in the valley and were able to bring out somewhat authentic accounts of the things they saw. Among the Arab writers, Alberuni's description of contemporary Kashmir is full and accurate. Unlike his Chinese predecessors, he probably had no chance of visiting the Valley but was fortunate enough to have at his disposal the services of some Kashmirian scholars who supplied him with necessary informations. Lastly, there is the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, whose account, though brief, corroborates what we learn from other sources.

Indigenous sources too may be divided into two groups Indian and Kashmirian. Strangely enough, the knowledge of ancient India about Kashmir was extremely meagre. Panini, Patanjali and the author of the *Mahabharata* had only heard about Kashmir; the *Puranas* and the *Brhatsamhita* were able to locate the country in the northern region. Sri Harsa, the writer of *Ratnavali*, was aware of the high quality of the saffron produced in Kashmir; and the court poets of the Chandella king, Dhanga, and the Chedi king, Laksmi Karna knew that like Bengal, Lata, Pandya and the Gurjara country, Kashmir was another land worth-conquering. But that was all they knew and the early Indian sources tell us of the valley little more.

Kashmirian literature on the other hand is very rich with informations about old Kasmira. The oldest extant text, the *Nilamatapurana*, deals in several chapters with the sacred legends pertaining to the origin of the country, the ordinances of Nila, the lord of Kashmir Nagas, the principal Nagas or sacred springs and other various legends connected with them. The earlier portions of the book speak most probably of the lacustrine origin of the land, a fact supported by geological researches. In the second section we learn a bit of the religious rites and ceremonies of early Kashmir. The last section, as Buhler points out, 'forms a real mine of information regarding the sacred springs of Kasmira and their legends'. The exact date of the *Nilamatapurana* can not be ascertained. Kalhana speaks of it as an old work on which he drew. In general, he mentions the names of the principal literatures and their compositions from the time of Jayapida onwards. He does not refer to the *Nilamatapurana* among them, which perhaps goes back to an earlier period, the 7th century A.D. or

the beginning of the 8th.

Next comes Jayapida's court poet Damodaragupta's *Kuttanimala Kavya* (8th cent. A.D.) containing a vivid picture of the contemporary socio-economic life.

Another helpful author is Kesmendra (11th cent. A.D.) whose works are full of facts about the country and the life around him. In his *Desopadesa,* he dilates upon the daily life of different sections of the people inhabiting the valley such as cheats misers, prostitutes, bawds, ostentatious voluptuaries, students of Gauda, degraded Saiva *gurus* and so on. His *Narmamala* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the bureaucracy before the time of Ananta. In the *Samayamatrka,* one of his most original compositions, he describes the snares and trickeries of courtesans, and gives amongst others an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine Kankali, through the length and breadth of Kashmir. The numerous places visited by her can easily be located on the map. More than once, curious touches of true colour give additional interest to these references. To Ksemendra's poem, for example, we owe the earliest mention of the Pir Pantsal route and its hospice, and of the ancient salt trade which continued to follow this route till recently.

Our next authority is Bilhana (11th cent. A.D.) who left the pleasures of his home in quest of poetic glory in an alien court. The eighteenth canto of his poem *Vikramankadevacarita* contains a charming account of the land he leaves behind.

Similar in character, but less defined, is the description of Kasmira and its capital Pravarapura, by Mankha (12th cent. A.D.) in the third chapter of his *Srikanthacarita.*

Mankha's contemporary was Kalhana, whose Chronicle, the *River of Kings,* tells us more than anything else of Kashmir and her early inhabitants. The first three books of the *Rajatarangini,* contain much that is myth mixed with history. This does not mean that the portions are devoid of any interest. On the contrary, they have great value, not only because they refer to the names of Asoka, Kaniskas and Mihirakula, but also because they present us with some detailed account of the general condition of the kingdom in the centuries preceding the accession of the Karkotas. The next three books of Kalhana which cover a period extending from the accession of the Karkotas to the establishment of the Lohara dynasty contain much that is history, fairly authentic. In his seventh and eighth books, Canpaka's son expresses a very great degree of historical insight as well as scholarship. To write the earlier books, as the poet-historian tells us, he

had been helped by some ancient texts besides inscriptions and coins. For the last two books, he had, in addition, informations from his elder contemporaries and his own experiences. Among the special merits of Kalhana as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, the individuality of his characters, the accuracy of the genealogical statements, a high sense of historical truthfulness (in the later parts of the Chronicle) and an exactness of topographical details. To these, we may add, his sense of the philosophy of history — a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhana lets his story tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. But he does not act as a mere reporter. Kalhana the narrator of events and Kalhana the thinker who explains the facts by causes and effects and exposes the principles which underlie them are one and indivisible self, who does not marshal the facts to illustrate his thesis; much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

Kalhana's Chronicle comes to a close with the year 1149-50 A.D. For the rest of the period of the Hindu rule, we have to rely on Jonaraja, the court poet of Jainu-l-abidin. In his *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, Jonaraja takes up the thread of history where Kalhana leaves it and carries it up to his master's reign. His account, though brief, is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses the mind of a great historian.

The rest of our Kashmirian sources include a large number of local *mahatmyas*, that deal with various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kashmir. Though they use older materials, in their present form they appear to belong to a comparatively recent period. Except the *Haracaritacintamani* of Jayadratha which relates in thirty-two cantos many legends of Siva and his *avataras* connected with famous Kashmirian *tirthas* and which is generally considered to have been written in the 12th or 13th century A.D., there is none that can be assigned with reason to the pre-Muslim days.

In modern times, some pioneer work on Kashmirian history has been done by Troyer, Wilson, Cunningham, Cole, Sahni, Ray, Kak and above all by Aurel Stein. To Troyer we owe the first translation of the *Rajatarangini* in an European language and though the work has fallen out of date, we can not forget that it was he who made the Chronicle accessible to the occidental scholars. Wilson's essay was an important work when it was written, and only further researches in the field diminished its great value. Cunningham's work on the coins and architecture of Kashmir still forms the basis of all

researches on the subject. Cole's monograph on Kashmir monuments is a learned work and his photographs remain while many of the structures caught by his camera have crumbled down. Bishop Cowie's notes on ancient Kashmirian architecture, as a supplement to Cunningham's work is, within its short compass, a valuable work. But for our present state of knowledge about the art-history of pre-Muslim Kashmir, we are indebted largely to Dayaram Sahm. His articles in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, embodying the results of his own field work are of a very high order. H. C. Ray, in his *Dynastic History of Northern India* traces the dynastic history of the valley, from the time of Avantivarman onwards and besides the Chronicles of Kalhana and Jonaraja, he utilises some relevant Muslim sources which lend special weight to his writing. Ram Chandra Kak's account of the ancient monuments of Kashmir is clear and instructive as he confines himself not only to mere description but also attempts to trace the development of different architectural styles. To him we owe an account of the unique art remains of Harwan; his handbook of sculptures in the Pratap Singh Museum is a work without which none can do.

In connection with the early history of Kashmir, Sir Aurel Stein is a name to conjure with. He published a critical text of the *Rajatarangini* in the year 1892. Eight years later his English translation of the *Rajatarangini*, with copious notes, coupled with an analysis of the political history, a memoir on the ancient geography and a monograph on the ancient monetary system, came to light. It is indeed a monumental work which, though written more than 50 years back, is still the most substantial and authentic account in the field and will, in all probability, remain so for many years to come.

Modern writers have touched on the political and art-history of the valley as well as upon its ancient coinage and geography. But many other spheres have been left unexplored. There have been little researches on the social, economic and administrative set up of ancient Kashmir, on the faiths of the people, on its literature and on the day to day life of the common man.

The skeleton to my narrative is furnished by the celebrated work of Kalhana and to supplement it, I constantly turn to other firsthand sources already referred to. To relate the tale, I have not confined myself to the acts and deeds of the king and his kinsmen alone, but also have taken into account the life of the people as a whole. The political history furnishes the background of my canvass, the true history of the Kasmiri

people.

I add short analyses of the different chapters of the book in the hope that they would prove helpful to the reader.

The first chapter, 'The Land and the People', deals with the ancient geography of the country and the ethnological background of the population as Geography and Ethnology are the bedrocks of a nation and shape the national life more than anything else. The section on geography is mainly derived from Stein's memoirs with a little additional informations gleaned from here and there. The latter section, on the people, is written on materials collected from several original sources. The results of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey* have also been fully utilized.

The second chapter portrays the 'Political Background' of the people. Nothing strikingly new from the point of fact will be found in this chapter. But, for this deficiency, I may perhaps be excused, since all the relevant sources on the subject have already been utilized by Stein and Ray. Many a knotty problem of the political history has been fully discussed in this chapter and special care taken to trace the political trends of the different periods.

In the third chapter, 'Society', I have dealt with the caste system, classes of people and the position of women. The caste system in pre-Muslim Kashmir is somewhat different from that found in contemporary kingdoms. Here we find the upper class Brahmanas in one camp with other lower grades in the other, with none to bridge the gulf, between the two. Among occupational classes, the presence of a powerful landed aristocracy and a greedy official class are novelties. These two classes dominate others and their bid for power and pelf crops up in ever-increasing problems in the State. The position of woman in Kashmir was probably a little better than that found in other north Indian states in so far as women had proprietary rights and could even mount the throne.

In the pages under 'Economic Condition' is given a detailed account of the agriculture, industry and trade. The general economic condition of the country, in a strange way, finds its reflection in the coins.

For the administrative history of Kashmir, I have utilized Ksemendra's *Narmamala* besides the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. The *Narmamala,* a vivid account on the misrule and oppression of the bureaucracy, has not been taken into account by any writer so far. The great value of the work lies in its contemporary character. It corroborates and supplements

some of the data of Kalhana as well as supplies new materials. In the chapter on 'Administration', my object has been to trace the development of the administrative system from age to age, explaining causes and reasons that worked behind the changes.

The faiths of the people found expression through the medium of several cults. A short history of the cults has been traced out in the sixth chapter. The principal cults were as found in the plains of India, viz. Buddhism and Hinduism, the latter being divided into Vaisanavism, Saivism and the worship of minor Brahminical gods and goddesses. But the presence of a Naga cult and particularly its survival throughout the period under review, are features peculiar to the valley.

Since Buhler's report, no systematic study on the Sanskrit literature of Kashmir has been undertaken. The work once memorable, is now out of date. My chapter on the Sanskrit literature is a survey of the entire literature of the valley from the earliest times upto the Muslim period, in the light of modern researches.

On the' Archaeology' of Kashmir a bulk of literature already exists. There is little room for improvement. My chapter does not claim any startling discovery in the field, but attempts to present the art and architecture of the valley as a background to the life and character of the people and seeks to find out the hows and whys of the 'heterogeneous Kasmiri style'.

The last chapter is on the 'Life of the People'. A survey of the culture of Kashmir cannot be complete with the study of religion, literature and art alone. Accordingly, I discuss the different aspects of the daily life of the Kashmirians, such as their food and drink, dress and ornaments, games and amusements, habits and heritages which allow us an insight into their culture.

PREFACE

I subscribe to the view that the history of a country is not merely the chronological narrative of its ruling dynasties, their wars and intrigues, but that is indeed, the story of its people. An attempt has been made in this treatise to tell this story of people's onward march in ancient Kashmir in all its aspects, social, economic and cultural against a political background.

The following pages represent the substantial portion of a thesis which was approved for the Doctor of Philosophy degree of the University of Calcutta. The work was undertaken as the James Prinsep Research Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Asiatic Society) and carried out under the guidance of Professor Nihar-ranjan Ray, M.A., D. Lett. and Phil., Bagisvari Professor of Indian Art and Culture, University of Calcutta. Professor Ray's affection does not measure by formal expressions of gratitude. The Asiatic Society gave me all necessary facilities to pursue the work. Let me thank the authorities of the Society for the acts of kindness. I also extend my thanks to Professor B. N. Sikdar, M.A. of Darjeeling Government College for going through parts of the manuscript and offering some valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the text; to Sri N. M. Ray of Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta for readily undertaking the work of line-drawing of several illustrations, preparation of a map and designing of the cover; to the Ministry of Education, Government of Jammu and Kashmir for kindly permitting me to reproduce the illustrations at the end of the book (except fig. b, pl. VI and pl. VII); to

the Director General, Department of Archaeology, Government of India, for the kind courtesy in allowing me to publish a figure of Visnu in plate VII of which the Department holds copyright and to reproduce other photographic illustrations from Departmental publications; to Messrs. Taraporewala of Bombay for allowing me to reprint a drawing (pl. VI, fig. b) from one of their publications.

Lastly, I am beholden to Sardar K. M. Panikkar, scholar, statesman and diplomat for kindly condescending to write a foreword to my book.

Indian Museum S. C. RAY

ABBREVIATIONS

1.	Ancient Monuments	Kak. *Ancient Moments of Kashmir.*
2.	Ann. Rep.. A.S.I.	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
3.	BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-orient, Hanoi*
4.	B.S.S.	Bombay Sanskrit Series
5.	Cat. Catalog.	Aufrecht, *Catalogues Catalogorum*
6.	C.I.I.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
7.	C.M.I.	Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*
8.	Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica*
9.	Essay	Wilson, An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir, Translations of the Asiatic Society, *Asiatic Researches,* Vol.XV, Calcutta, 1825
10.	G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series
11.	Handbook	Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Section of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.*
12.	I.C.	*Indian Culture*
13.	I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
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15.	Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary*
16.	J. A.	*Journal Asiatique*
17.	J. A. S. B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
18.	J. B. B. R. A. S.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
19.	J.N.S.I.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
20.	J.R.A.S.	*Jóurnal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
21.	Jonaraja or Jonar.	Jonaraja, *Dvitiya-Rajatarangini* (Cal. Ed.)
22.	Jonar. (Bo. Ed.)	Jonaraja, *Dvitiya-Rajatarangini* (Ed. Peterson, Bombay)
23.	Kav.	*Kavindravacanasamuccaya*
24.	Mbh.	*Mahabharata*
25.	N.S.P.	Nirnaya Sagar Press
26.	R.A.S.B.	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
27.	Report	Bühler's Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Extra no.), 1877.
28.	R.T.	*Rajatarangini,* Ed. M. A. Stein
29.	Srivara	Srivara, *Rajatarangini,* Cal. Ed.
30.	Subh.	*Subhasitavali,* Ed. Peterson
31.	T.S.S.	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
32.	Vikram	*Vikramankadevacarita*
33.	Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der, Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*

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CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

PHYSICAL FEATURES

KASHMIR-Jammu, is the name given to the northernmost state of the Indian Union which, generally speaking, stretches from the east of the river Indus to the west of the river Ravi.

On the Atlas you may find it roughly between 32° 17′ to 36°58′ N and 73°26′ to 80° 30′ E. with an extent of 82,258 square miles and a population of 4,021,616 souls (according to the census of 1941).

The kingdom of ancient Kasmira, however, was a territory much smaller than the modern state of Kashmir-Jammu. It denoted an irregularly oval valley, 84 miles long from northeast to south-west and 20 to 25 miles broad, between 33° to 34° 35′ N. and 74° 8′ to 75°25′ E. It was surrounded by snow-capped mountains varying at different points from 12,000 to 18,000 feet in height.

Politically, ancient Kasmira was generally confined to its geographical limits. But at times it extended Its influence beyond that boundary. According to Ptolemy (2nd century

A.D.), Kaspeiria lay between the land of the Darads and the land of the Kulindas on the Hyphasis and extended eastwards (Ptolemy, VII, i, 42). When Hiuen Tsang visited the valley in the middle of the 7th century A.D., he found all adjacent territories on the west and south, down to the plains, under the sway of the king of Kasmira. He clearly records that Taks sila to the east of the Indus, Urasa or Hazara, Simhapura or the Salt Range, with the smaller hill states of Rajapuri and Parnotsa, were not independent, but subject to Kashmira.[1] In the middle of the 8th century A.D., Lalitaditya conquered territories as far as Kanauj in the east and his grandson Jayapida is said to have had trials of strength with the rulers of Kanauj, Gauda and Nepal. Samkaravarman (A D. 883-902) annexed Darvabhisara and some parts of the northern Punjab to the kingdom of Kasmira proper. Kalasa (A.D. 1063- 1089) conquered the hilly state of Rajapuri and among the neighbouring kingdoms which acknowledged his supremacy were Campa, Vallapura, Lohara, Urasa, Kanda and Kasthavata.[2]

The characteristic physical features of Kashmir are its strong mountain ramparts, its lovely lakes and rivers, and its pale red Karewas.

The valley of Kasmira is surrounded on all sides by a chain of mountain ranges. To the north lies a series of mountains which hasten away in wild confusion to the great promontory of Nanga Parbat (26,182 feet). To the east rises Harmukh 16,903) which guards the valley of Sindh. On the south is Mahadeo looking down upon Srinagara, the high range of Gwash Brari (17,800 feet) and the lofty peak of Amarnath (17,321 feet). The Pir-Pantsal range with peaks of 15,000 feet or more stands on the south west, over which the ancient trade routes with Punjab lay. Further north is the Tosmaidan

(14,000 feet) and in the north-west rises the majestic Kajinag (12,125 feet).

The surrounding mountain ranges have largely determined the political destiny of the valley, making it impregnable and inaccessible. While powerful neighbouring kingdoms succumbed to the onslaught of the invaders, Kasmira's natural defences saved her from impending foreign domination. In fact, it was not the valour of the Kasmirian army but the defence furnished by the mountain ramparts, which many a time turned the tide of invasion from the valley. Guarded from the outer world by chains of mountains, Kasmira was able to preserve her ancient culture for a considerable time and to develop her so and economic system in her own way.

The valley is dotted with numerous lakes that shine like - gems under a sunlit sky; rivers run with merry ripple to bear the bulk of Kasmira's trade. While they add to the charm of the valley, they also serve as very useful commercial waterways from a remote time. In fact, in ancient times, there were few roads fit for wheeled traffic and communication with outer territories was restricted to difficult bridle paths and tracks passable only to load-carrying coolies. The bulk of the country's internal as well external trade was carried by river ways. The position most of the towns of ancient Kasmira on riverbanks, shows the historical importance of riverine trade and traffic.[3]

The Udars or Karewas are names given to the alluvial plateaus of Kasmira, which, according to most geologists, were formed by 'lacustrine deposits. They range in height from 100 to 300 feet above the level of the ravines and valleys that intersect them and that are cut into twins by the swift-flowing mountain stream rushing to the river vitasta. The

area covered by each Udar vanes from 5 to 50 square miles. The Udars with inferior quality of soil are less productive than the even fertile lands of the valley. In ancient times, when the population of the valley was probably much larger than at present, the whole land was intensively cultivated. The Karewas and even the mountain slopes were not spared. Consequently, a very detailed arrangement had to be made for their irrigation. Many of the irrigation channels which are visible now, are of ancient date. The chronicles also refer to some the water-courses which were conducted over the Udars from the higher ground behind. A large number of Udars being isolated, water cannot be brought over them. Their productivity depends solely upon rainfall. The chief crops, they yield, are barley, maize and wheat.

KASMIRA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

The name of Kasmira does nor occur in the Vedic literature. In the Rgvedic hymns mention is made of a river called the Marudvrdha.[4] Some scholars identify it with the small Kasmirian stream Maruwardwan which flows from north to south and joins the Chenab on its northern bank at Kishtwar and on the basis of this identification conclude that 'the Aryans held a part at least of the secluded vale of Kasmira.[5] But the identification of the river Marudvrdha with the Kasmirian stream Maruwardwan is doubtful.[6] In the *Atharvasamhita* we find mention of some northern tribes like the Bahlikas, Mahavrsas, Gandharis and Mujavats.[7] It is not known whether any of them lived in Kasmira. But as the fever *(takman)* is called upon to go to these tribes, it seems likely that they lived outside the Aryan zone. The *Brahmanas* and the *Upanisads* refer to some of the tribes who lived in the northwest, such as the Gandharas, Kekayas, Madras and Ambasthas.[8] None of them, however, seem to bear any

evidence of direct touch with the valley of Kasmira.

In, Sanskrit literature, the earliest reference to Kasmira is found in Panini's grammar and in Patanjali's great commentary on it. There the term Kasmira and its derivation Kasmira are stated as the name of the country and its inhabitants, respectively. The *Mahabharata* refers in several passages to the Kasmiras an their king, but in a way which merely indicates that the valley was situated in hilly regions to the north of India.[9]

Similarly some of the *Puranas* refer to the Kasmiras in the list of northern nations, but do not furnish any further information about them.[10] Varahamihira (*c.* A.D. 500) in his *Brhatsamhita* includes the Kasmiras in the north-eastern division. Of the other tribes who lived in this region, he mentions the Abhisaras, Daradas, Darvas, Khasas, Kiras, ete.,[11] the tribes who are known from other sources to have inhabited Kasmira and its neighbouring regions in historical periods. Sri Harsa in his *Ratnavali* (7th century A.D.) refers to the saffron of the Kasmira country, which was best of all types of saffrons, both in colour and in scent (*Kasmiradesaje ksetre kumkumam yadbhaveddhi tat* I *Suksmakesaramaraktam padmagandhi taduttamam* II).

The earliest note on Kasmira by foreigners occurs in the writings of Hecataeus who refers to Kaspapyros, the city of the Gandarians. Herodotus mentions the city of Kaspatyros as the place at which embanked the expedition under Scylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus and distinctly places it in the Paktyan land. Dionysios of Samos, whose date is not known mentions the Kaspeiroi as one of the tribes of India who were famous for their fast feet. The name of the Kaspeiroi is also met with in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos as a tribe which rose in arms against Bacchos

(Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr. Vol. II, pp. 352-53).

Ptolemy (*c.* I50 A.D.) in his geographical account of India, refers to a region called Kaspeira lying below the sources of the Bidaspes (Vitasta) and of the Sandabal (Candrabhaga) and of the Adris (Iravati)' (VII, i, 42). His assignment of the territory between the *Daradrai* or Dards on the Indus and *Kylindrine* on the Bias and eastwards seems to be on the whole correct. But his further statement that the region held by the Kaspeiraeans extended eastwards from the land of the Pandoouoi on the Bidaspes as far as mount Ouindion or the Vindhyas (VII, i, 47) is undoubtedly exaggerated.

It is not possible to ascertain the earliest Chinese reference to Kasmira, since the term, 'Ki-pin', was used by them in a vague and general fashion to a number of territories on the northern confines of India. It might have denoted at first the Kophen-Kabul of the Greeks and then perhaps the Saka State of northern India.[12] In the Kusana period the word meant the Kusana empire, which included Kapisi and Kasmira and much else.[13] But the Chinese notices of Ki-pin too, even if they had occasionally denoted Kasmira, lack characteristic local details.[14]

The first Chinese traveller to enter the valley of Kasmira was probably Che-mong. He visited Kasmira shortly after 404 A.D.[15] In 420 A.D. another Chinese, Fa-yong, started for India, along with twenty-five Buddhist monks. Fa-yong is said to have passed more than a year in Kasmira where he studied the Buddhist texts and the Sanskrit language.[16]

A Chinese record dated 541 A.D., while referring to an Indian envoy sent to China in the early period of the Tang dynasty, describes the northern part of India as a country 'enveloped on all sides like a precious jewel by the snowy mountains with a valley in the south which leads up to it and

serves as the gate of the kingdom'.[17] Undoubtedly, this is a distinct reference to the valley of Kasmira.

Hiuen Tsang visited Kasmira in the year 631 and stayed there for two years. His account of the land is full and accurate. His description of the kingdom of *Kia-shi-mi-lo* shows that it included within its limit the great basin of the Vitasta and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Baramula defile. He observes that the valley is surrounded on all sides by mountains which have saved it from the onslaughts of the neighbouring states. The land is said to have been fruitful and fertile and the climate cold with plenty of snowfall.

The great pilgrim also records the story of Kasmira's conversion into Buddhism by Majjhantika. During the time of Kaniska the great Buddhist council was held here, but at the time of his visit, the country was not much given to that faith and the sale thought of the people was for the temples of the heretics.

Hiuen Tsang saw four Asokan *stapas* and records the erection of one by Kaniska, none of which are visible now. Some of the other contemporary *viharas*, noticed by him, however, have been identified with the help of the Chronicle of Kalhana. The Chinese visitor refers both to the new capital Srinagara and also the old one, Puranadhisthana. He entered the valley by the route which lay south-east of Urasa and reached the western gate of the valley in the gorge of Baramula. The road by which he left, presumably layover the Tosmaidan pass.[18]

The next Chinese notice of Kasmira is found in the annals of the Tang dynasty which mentions the arrival of an embassy in the Chinese court from Kasmirian king *Tchxen-to-lo-pi-lo* shortly after A.D. 713 and another from his brother

Mu-to-pi-. *Tchen-to-lo-pi-lo* seems to be Candrapida, and his brother *Mu-to-pi* is undoubtedly Muktapida. The annals of the Tang dynasty further refer to the city of *Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo*, i.e., Pravarapura and to the river *Mi-na-si-to*, i.e., the Vitasta.[19]

In the middle of the 8th century A.D. Kasmira was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong. He seems to have entered the valley from Gandhara in the year 759 A.D. by the same route through which Hiuen Tsang came. He spent four years in Kasmira for studying Sanskrit. Some of the *viharas* mentioned by him have been identified by Stein. Ou-kong saw more than three hundred *viharas* in the valley besides numerous *stupas* and images of Buddha.

Ou-kong describes the kingdom of Kasmira as enclosed on all sides by mountains. Among the routes which pierced them he mentions three, leading, respectively, to *Tou-fan* or Tibet in the east, *Po-liu* or Baltistan in the north and *Kien-to-lo* or Gandhara in the west. Another route, which *Ou-kong* says 'is always closed, and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit' may be one of the routes leading over the Pir Pantsal range on the south.[20]

The informations that may be scrapped together from the Muslim writers on the historical geography of Kasmira, are indeed scanty. According to Al-Masudi Kasmira is a land with many towns and villages, enclosed on all sides by mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a gate. This is practically everything that writers like Al-Qazwini, Al-Idrisi and other Arab geographers tell us about Kasmira.[21]

The only Arabic work, which furnishes us with a very detailed and accurate account of the valley of Kasmira is Alberuni's *Kitab-ul-Hind*. Alberuni seems to have gathered most of his informations about Kasmira during his long stay

at Ghazna and in the Punjab between A.D. 1017 and 1030. He was particularly interested about Kasmira because it was the seat of all Hindu sciences at the time and he distinctly states that among his informants there were many Kasmirian scholars.[22]

Alberuni correctly places Kasmira in that mountainous region which lies between the Central Asian watershed and the plains of Punjab. Some of the habits and customs of the Kasmirian people referred to by him receive confirmation from Sanskrit sources. The Kasmirians of his time, were very conscious of the natural strength of their valley and closely guarded all the frontier routes. At that time the best known entrance to Kasmira from the west led through the central portion of Hazara to Manshera and then across the Kunhar (Kusnari) and. Kisanganga (Mahwi) rivers to Muzaffarabad and then by the fight of the Jhelum valley to Baramula. As you left the village of Uskur on the way, you reached the Adhisthana, i.e., the capital Srinagara. It stood on both the banks of the Jhelum joined by bridges and ferry boats. The area of the capital was about four *farsakh.*

The courses of river Jailam, i.e., Jhelum have also been traced with much accuracy by the Arab scholar From the foot of the mountains it was two days' journey along the river to reach the capital. About four *farsakh* further from Adhisthana, the river reached a large swamp.

The mountainous regions of Bolor and Shamilan, that lie nearly two days' march away from the Baramula gorge, were inhabited by Turkish tribes called Bhattavaryan. Their king had the title of Bhatta Shah. Bolar is undoubtedly Baltistan. As Alberuni refers to Gilgit, Aswira (Hasor, i.e. Astor,) and Shiltas (Cilas) as the chief places of this region in his subsequent notes, there can be no doubt that this mountainous

region is the country of the Darads and the Baltis.

Alberuni mentions the fortress of Lauhur which was situated at a distance of 56 miles from the capital. Stein identifies it with the fortress of Lohara, the Loharakotta of the *Rajatarangini*.[23] The Muslim scholar closes his chapter on the geography with an account of the Rajawari, which is undoubtedly the town of Rajapuri, the capital of the hill state of Rajapuri, mentioned in the Chronicle. It was the farthest limit to which the Muslim traders of Alberuni's time could reach, and beyond which they never crossed.[24]

The last foreign writer of our period, who has left an account of Kasmira is Marco Polo (middle of the 13th century A.D.). He mentions Kashimur as a province inhabited by a people who were idolators and had a language of their own. They were acquainted with the devilries of enchantment and could perform many supernatural acts.

Marco Polo also speaks of some of the habits and customs of the Kasmirians, their food and drink and of their physical features. He states 'there are number of towns and villages in the country, but also forests and desert tracts and strong passes, so that the people have no fear of anybody, and keep their independence with a king of their own to rule and do justice'. The Venetian traveller's evidence about the natural defences of the valley receives corroboration from Alberuni and Ou-kong.

Marco Polo refers to a number of idolators' abbeys and monasteries which were found in the kingdom of Kasmira and mentions that the coral which was carried from this part of the world, had a better market here than that of any other country.[25]

The indigenous literature of Kasmira throws a flood of light on the early geography and topography of the land.

The earliest Sanskrit literature of the valley, so far known, is the *Nilamatapurana*. To quote the words of Buhler, it is 'a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kasmira and their legends'. Besides the references to the legendary origin of Kasmira and the rites and worships prescribed by Nila and observed by the people, the work dilates upon such various topics as the principal Nagas or sacred springs of Kasmira, the origin of the Volur lake, the places consecrated to Siva and Visnu, the sacred river confluences and lakes, the chief *tirthas* of the land and in the end upon the sanctity of the river Vitasta.[26]

Ksemendra, the polyhistor, in his *Samayamatrka* furnishes us with some useful informations about the topographical details of his country. His heroine Kankali travels through the length and breadth of Kasmira. Many of the places visited by her can be traced out on the map. To him we the first reference to the Pir Pantsal route (Pancaladhara).[27]

Not long after Ksemendra came Somadeva, the author of the *Kathasaritsagara*. He describes Kasmira as a region in the south of the Himalayas washed by the waters of the Vitasta. He mentions some of the holy sites of the valley such as the Vijayaksetra, Nandiksetra, Varahaksetra, Mandapaksetra and Uttararamamanasa and the town of Hiranyapura.[28]

Bilhana, who lived during the reigns of Kalasa and Harsa, has also left an account of his native valley. In the last chapter of his poem, the *Vikramankadevacarita*, he gives us a vivid picture of the Kasmirian capital and the village of Khonamusa where he was born. His account, apart from its poetical beauties, is full of local details.[29]

For the history, as well as for the early geography of Kasmira, Kalhana's Chronicle is a very important document. In the first book of his work, he gives us an account of the

legends relating to the creation of Kasmira and its sacred river, the Vitasta, and refers, besides, to the most famous of the many *tirthas* in which Kasmira was abundant.[30] But this description, though interesting, is not of much importance from the historical view point. More important, for the historical geography of Kasmira, is the mass of incidental references of topographical interest scattered throughout the poem.

Ancient Kasmira was really rich in holy places and objects of pilgrimages were planted throughout the valley. According to the *Rajatarangini,* Kasmira was a country where there was not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a *tirtha.*[31] The springs which had their tutelary deities in the form of Nagas, the streams and rivers with particular sacred legends attached to each of them, innumerable places connected with the worship of various gods and goddesses – all these and many more have been frequently mentioned by Kalhana. They have some topographical importance as they enable us to trace with more or less certainty the early history of most of the popular places of pilgrims visited up to the present day. The marvelous accuracy of Kalhana's topographical knowledge about some of the *tirthas* tends to show that he visited them personally.

Numerous references made by Kalhana regarding the origin of towns, cities, villages, estates and shrines are also of great topographical importance. His knowledge about the birth of these towns and shrines seems to have been gathered from' the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants of land by former kings'.[32] Some of his notices were probably based on less authentic sources, but even then it must be admitted that they acquaint us with the' names of the respective localities and buildings as used in the official

language of Kalhana's time, and with the traditions then current regarding their origin and date'.

The system of nomenclature followed in ancient Kasmira preserves a genuine tradition regarding their founder. In cases of towns and cities, the appellation *pura* is attached to the name of the founder. In cases of religious structures, terms indicating the deity or the object to which the building was dedicated, follow.

The notices of the foundations of town, etc., made by Kalhana, are sometimes accompanied by accurate description of the sites chosen and of structures connected with them. Mention may be made in this connection about his descriptions of the towns of Pravarapura, Parihasapura, and Jayapura Dvaravati. It is Kalhana's accurate description, which alone has helped future scholars to identify some of the ruined sites of present times with famed cities of the past.[33] The seventh and eighth books of Kalhana are full and elaborate with detailed topographical informations. Our knowledge about some of the localities, whose mere mention is found in the first six books, is corroborated from the detailed account of these sites, as furnished in the last two books. Often in connection with the accounts of sieges, rebellions, internal conflicts which raged during the reign of Lohara dynasty, Kalhana incidentally tells us so much about the various localities connected with those events, that we can clearly trace them on the map. His topographical exactness is strikingly revealed from such account as the regulation of the waters of the Vitasta by Suyya (which help us to trace the original course of the river and the changed course which resulted after the regulation), the sieges of Srinagara under Sussala, the battle on the Gopadri hill in the same period, the blockade of Lohara and the siege of the Sirahsila castle.

The poet Mankha, was a contemporary of Kalhana. In the third canto of his *Srikanthacarita,* he gives an account of Pravarapura, the capital of Kasmira.[34]

Among other texts of topographical interest mention may be made of *Haracaritacintamani* of Jayadratha.[35] Jayadratha seems to have lived at the end of the 12th or at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. In his thirty-two cantos he deals with a number of legends connected with Siva and his *avataras.* Of these, eight legends are centred round well-known Kasmirian *tirthas* and afford the author an opportunity of describing various sacred sites of Kasmira, connected directly or indirectly with them. Jayadratha's detailed account shows the gradual development of legends connected with different places of pilgrimages since the days of Kalhana.

The numerous *Sthanamahatmyas* of Kasmira, of which 51 have already been recorded are also interesting sources for early historical geography of Kasmira. They generally set forth the different legends connected with different places of pilgrimages, the merit to be acquired by their visits and the rites to be performed in each of the sites. Though most of them seem to be written in a considerably late period, they contain many early materials and local traditions, and are thus valuable for a systematic study of the old topography of the valley.

POLITICAL DIVISION

From ancient times Kasmira has been divided in to two principal parts - Kamraz and Maraz. In Sanskrit texts of the valley they have been referred to as Kramarajya and Madavarajya. According to prevailing tradition, Kamraz comprises the *parganas* on both sides of the river Vitasta below Srinagara while Maraz, comprises those above it. That the division was similar, in ancient times, is proved by an

examination of all passages of the *Rajatarangini* and later chronicles which refer to Kramarajya and Madavarajya. A similar result is also arrived at from Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* where it is said that 'the whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions. Maraj on the east, and Kamraj on the west'.[36]

In early days, each of the divisions Kramarajya and Madavarajya was further sub-divided into several *visayas*. How many *visayas* there actually were in ancient Kasmira, we do not know. According to Abul Fazal's list Kasmira was subdivided into forty-one *parganas* at first, which, after the amalgamation of some of them was reduced to thirty-eight. Some of these *parganas* must have existed from a remote period since they are found in their ancient forms, referred to as *visayas* ai the *Rajatarangini* and other chronicles. According to the *Lokaprakala* Kasmira was sub-divided into twenty-seven *visayas*, of which nineteen are specifically mentioned. But the modern look of many of these names prevents us from placing too much credence on its evidence.

Among the *visayas* of Madavarajya, Kalhana mentions Khaduvi,[37] Holada,[38] Karala[39] and Devasarasa.[40]

Stein has identified Khaduvi with the modern *pargana* of Vihi. The village Khaduvi which was situated in this *visaya* and from which the name of the *visaya* was derived seems to be same as the present village of Khruv. In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* the Damaras of Khaduvi are spoken of as lying in ambush near Padmapura.[41] It is interesting to note that Pampar, which stands on the ancient site of Padmapura, is one of the principal towns of Vihi.

The *visaya* of Holada seems to be the same as the present *pargana* of Vular. A passage of die *Rajatarangini* places it in Madavarajya.[42] Another passage records that two officers of

king Jayasimha were besieged by the Damaras of Holada within the Avantisvamin temple of Avantipura.[43] It must be noted that Avantipura is still situated in the Vular *pargana*. Kalhana refers to the Damaras of Holada and Khaduvi side by side.[44] Khaduvi, which has been identified with Vihi, is still a neighbouring *pargana* of Vular. Jonaraja mentions Holada as Holara[45] which is not very removed from the modern transcription Vular.

Devasarasa is undoubtedly the present *pargana* of Divasar situated in the south-east of the valley on the upper course of the Visoka. Kalhana frequently refers to this *visaya* in his Chronicle.[46] The comparative early date of the *visaya* is suggested by its mention in the *Nilamatapurana*.[47]

The *visaya* of Karala has been mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*[48] but Kalhana's reference does not help us to locate it. Jonaraja and Srivara's chronicles[49] place the town of Jainapuri founded by Sultan Jainu-I-abidin in the Karala visaya *(pargana)*. Jainapuri is the modern Zainpur which has given its name to that tract of Advin *pargana* which lies on the alluvial plateau to the south of the Rembyar river. That this tract is to be identified with the Karala *visaya* is further confirmed by the glossator Bhatta Haraka who places Karala in Ardhavane, i.e., in Advin.[50]

Jonaraja furnishes us with the information of several more *visayas* situated in the Kramarajya in addition to those given by Kalhana. These were the *visayas* of Vamaparsva, Martansa, Jainapura and Nagrama.

The *visaya* of Vamaparsva, twice referred to by Jonaraja[51] meaning 'left side' is undoubtedly an earlier designation of the modern *pargana* of Khovurpor which also means the left side. The name Vamaparsva or Khovurpor may be due to its position on the left, i.e., on the eastern portion of the Lidar

valleys.

Martandadesa of Jonaraja[52] seems to represent the modern *pargana* of Matan. The name of Matan occurs in the list of Kasmirian *pargana* given by Abul Fazal which indicates that the change of name took place during the intervening period. It is also not unlikely that the name Matan existed already in the time of Jonaraja, but he used the Sanskritic term Martanda in preference to that name. The name of the *visaya* was evidently derived from the Martandatirtha and the temple of Martanda that stood within its limits.

The Jainapura *pargana,* referred to by Jonaraja[53] owed its name from the town of Jainapuri founded by Jainu-I-abidin. The creation of the new *pargana,* wresting a part of the ancient *visaya* bf Karala[54] was evidently all event of Jainu-l-abidin's reign.

Nagrama, mentioned by Jonaraja[55] and Srivara[56] seems to represent the modern *pargana* of Nagam. But from the nature of its mention in the later chronicles it is not clear enough whether Nagrama was a *visaya* at that time or indicated merely the name of a place. The village of Arigom, which has been identified with Hadigrama mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*[57]and from where a stone inscription of I 197 A.D. has been recovered, is the only known place of historical importance in this *pargana.*

Srivara mentions two additional *visayas* of Madavarajya, which seem to have been from the pre-Muhammadan period. Of these, Daksinapara undoubtedly is the ancient name of the Dachunpor *pargana.* Daksinaparsva, referred to in the *Lokaprakasa* and *Martandamahatmya* is probably a different form of the same *visaya.* The Iksika of Srivara[58] represents the modern *pargana* of Yech which extends to the immediate vicinity of Srinagara.

Of the *visayas* of Kramarajya mentioned by Kalhana, Lahara *visaya* is the same as the modern district of Lar, which includes the whole of the territory drained by the Sind and its tributaries. The identity is suggested by Bhatta Haraka's gloss on the Lahara *visaya* as well as from the topographical details contained in some of the passages of the *Rajatarangini*[59] and later chronicles.[60]

The *visaya* of Sam ala referred to in numerous passages of the *Rajatarangini*[61] and later chronicles[62] is the ancient name of the modern *pargana* of Hamal, the latter being a direct phonetic derivative of the former. Vanagrama, which from Kalhana's account[63] seems to indicate a locality near about Samala, may be identical with the present village of Vangram, in the Hamal *pargana*. Laulaha of Kalhana[64] seems to preserve the old name of the present Lolab *pargana* to the north-west of the Volur lake. But from Kalhana's solitary reference, it is not definite whether the locality formed a *visaya* in the pre-Muhammadan period.

The *visaya* of Uttara[65] mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* is in all probability, the same as the Uttar *pargana* of the present day, which occupies the northern-most part of Kamraz (Kramarajya). Kalhana speaks of a locality called Ghosa which was situated in Uttara. It is evidently the present village of Gus, in the centre of the Uttar *pargana*, near the confluence of the Kamil river and the stream from Lolan.

Khuyasrama[66] is undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern Khuyahom *pargana* which comprises the northern shore of the Volur lake and the valleys opening out from it. Srivara's Chronicle also contains the name of Khoyasrama.[67]

In close proximity to Khuyasrama, stood the *Visaya* of Evanaka[68] consisting probably of that tract of land which stretched on the north-east shore of the Volur. The exact

location of the *visaya*, however, is not possible at present. In the *Tirthasamgraha* Mahapadmanaga, i.e., the Volur is said to have been situated in Evenavisaya.[69]

Bhangila of the *Rajatarangini*[70] corresponds to the present *pargana* of Banjil, to the south west of Paraspor. This ancient *visaya* has been also referred to in Jonaraja's and Srivara's chronicles.[71] Closely adjacent to it, was situated the ancient town of Patan.

Jonaraja supplies us with the names of two other *visayas* of ancient Kasmira, which have not found a place in Kalhana's work. Of these Bahurupa[72] is the old name of the modern Biru *pargana*. The name of the *visaya* was probably derived from the ancient *tirtha* of Bahurupa[73] which was situated within it. Jainagiri, the other *visaya*,[74] owes its name to Jainu-i-abidin. It comprised the fertile Karewa tract between the Vular and the left bank of the Pohur river. The earlier name of the tract can not be traced out.

TOWNS AND CITIES

The Greek geographer Hecataeus (500 B.C.) mentions a city called Kaspapyros. According to him it was a city of the Gandarians. Herodotus (484-43 I B.C.) evidently refers to the same city by the name of Kaspatyros. Lassen, Humboldt and some other scholars take it for Kasmira.[75] It is, however, to be remembered that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros was the name of a city whereas Kasmira stood for a kingdom. According to Ptolemy (*c.* 150 A.D.) the capital of Kaspeiria, i.e., Kasmira was Kaspeira.[76] From the above account of the classical writers it seems that there was perhaps a city in ancient Kasmira, which was called Kaspapyros or Kaspatyros or Kaspeira, whichever might have been the more correct form. This ancient city, however, can not be located.

If Kalhana is to be believed, in the 3rd century B.C. the Maurya emperor Asoka built in Kasmira the town of Srinagari[77] which up to the end of the 6th century A.D. was the capital of the valley. It is highly probable that it stood on the modern site of Pandrethan, Kalhana's Puranadhisthana on the right bank of the Vitasta, about three miles above the modern Srinagara. In the *Rajatarangini* it is recorded that Jalauka, son of Asoka, founded the shrine of Jyestharudra at Srinagari.[78] Whether the existing temple on the Takht-i-Sulaiman hill about two miles to the north-east of Pandrethan represents the shrine of Jyestharudra, is a controversial matter. But Aurel Stein has correctly shown that Jalauka's Jyestharudra must be looked for either on the very hill or in its close proximity.[79] In this neighbourhood must also be placed Asoka's Srinagari.

When Hiuen Tsang visited Kasmira in 631 A.D. it was no more the capital. He states that the capital of his time was the new city and the old city lay to the south east of it at a distance of ten *li* and to the south of a high mountain. The account seems to agree with the relative positions of Pandrethan and modern Srinagara.[80]

The three Turuska kings Huska, Juska and Kaniska who probably ruled in the early centuries of the Christian era, are said to have built, respectively, the cities of Huskapura, Juskapura and Kaniskapura.[81] Of these three cities, Huskapura has been located by Cunningham at the modern village of Uskur, two miles to the south-east of the present town of Baramula. That Huskapura was very near to Varahamala is evident from a remark of Kalhana where he says that king Ksemagupta (A.D. 950-958) proceeded to die at Varahaksetra close to Huskapura.[82] When Hiuen Tsang entered Kasmira he stopped at *Hu-se-kia-lo*, i.e., at Uskur after

passing the ancient gate of Varahamula.[83] In the 11th century A.D. Alberuni noticed Uskara as lying opposite 'Baramula'.[84] Remains of an ancient *vihara* and a *stupa* can be seen near the village. In all probability they belong to the period of Muktapida Lalitaditya.[85] An ancient *stupa*, on which the *stupa* of the Karkota period was built is visible, this earlier one may go as far back as the days of the later Kusanas.

Juskapura may be identified with the modern village of Zukur to the north of the present capital of Srinagara. In the materials used in the Muhammadan tombs and mosques of Zukur a considerable number of stone pillars and mouldings of the style of architecture peculiar to ancient Kasmira are discernible, which may show that the town was an important locality in ancient days.

Stein, on the basis of the evidence of the glossator Bhatta Haraka, identifies Kaniskapura with the village of Kanespur, situated between the Vitasta and the high road leading from Baramula to Srinagara.[86] Carved stones and ancient coins, occasionally extracted from the site, point out its remote antiquity.

If Kalhana is to be believed, not long after the Turuska kings, Abhimabyu (I) founded a town called Abhimanyupura which abounded in wealth and had a Siva temple as its crest-ornament.[87] The local ion of the town is not known, but some scholars conjecture that it may be the present village of Bimyun, situated in marshy ground about four miles to the south-west of Srinagar. Another town Narapura, was built by king Nara. Kalhana's description of this town is very full and elaborate. He says that it was situated on the sandy bank of the Vitasta. The markets of the towns were kept full of supplies by the highroads leading to it and the sails of a hundred ships plying up and down gave splendour to the

river. With its gardens full of swelling flowers and fruits, it was, as it were, a synonym for 'heaven' and it surpassed even Kubera's town by the riches amassed there through the conquest of the world.[88] Another name of this town was Kimnarapura. Kimnarapura, says Kalhana , was encircled by walls.[89] It is not unlikely that the ancient towns of Kasmira were generally defended by walls built around them. Local tradition places Narapura in the immediate vicinity of Vijabror. Kalhana's mention of the shrine of Cakradhara in the neighbouring region of the town of Narapura[90] tallies with the position of Tsakadar, near Vijabror and this goes to confirm the local tradition about the situation of Narapura.

The credit for the foundation of the city of Vijaydvara round the ancient shrine of Siva Vijayesa goes to a Kasmirian king Vijaya by name.[91] The site has been identified with the present town of Vijabror.

About the end of the 6th century A.D., king Pravarasena II built a city called Pravarasenapura. The city has been located at Srinagara, the present capital of Kasmira. The identity is based upon Hiuen Tsang and Kalhana's testimony. From Hiuen Tsang's account we learn that at his time the new capital i.e. Pravarapura was situated north-west of Puranadhisthana, at a distance of ten *li*. This is exactly the relative position of modern Srinagara and Pandrethan. Hiuen Tsang says that he resided in the Jayendravihara during his stay in the capital of Kasmira.[92] The *Rajatarangini* relates that this very *vihara* was built by Pravarasena II's maternal uncle In the new capital.[93] Kalhana describes the city of Pravarapura as situated at the confluence of two rivers with a hill in the centre of it.[94] This is an exact description of the present Srinagara.

Ksemendra, Bilhana, and Mankha's statements regarding

the position of Pravarapura also agree with the site occupied by modern Srinagara.[95] Kalhana's long list of buildings and localities in the new capital can also be identified within the present Srinagara or in its neighbouring regions.[96]

Kalhana states that the city of Pravarapura, when it was e founded by king Pravarasena II, contained as many as thirty-six lakhs of houses. There were regularly arranged markets within the city. The mansions were so high as to seem reaching up to the clouds. The temples were endowed with rich gifts. The conjunction of two streams near the city added to its charm.[97] In the 11th century A.D. Bilhana found the city equally charming, which, according to him, was not only the principal city of Kasmira, but surpassed in beauty all other cities, even Kuvera's town Lanka and the town of the gods.[98] For its coolness in summer and for the beauty of its groves, says Bilhana, even those who have reached the garden of the celestials could not forget it.[99]

From the end of the 6th century onwards, Pravarapura was the capital of Kasmira. How did it lose its own name and assume that of the old city of Srinagara, is difficult to say. As both the cities existed side by side for more than five centuries, perhaps it was the old name that remained in common use with the people, in preference to the new name, as the customary designation of the capital. Ultimately the old familiar name of Srinagara seems to have swamped the name of the new city of Pravarasenapura.

About the middle of the 7th century A.D. Pratapaditya II, son of Durlabhavardhana, founded a town called Pratapapura, which, according to the poetic assertion of Kalhana, rivalled the city of Indra in splendour. Bhatta Haraka's gloss identifies the town with the modern village of Tapar situated on the high way from Varahamala to

Srinagara. The identification receives support from a verse in the *Rajatarangini*, where Pratapapura is said to be lying on the route of Sussala's retreat from Srinagara to Lohara via Varahamula.[100]

The great Kaśmirian king Lalitaditya, about the middle of the 8th century A.D. founded the city of Parihasapura, which, according to Kalhana, mocked the residence of Indra in its splendour. In this newly built city, Lalitaditya erected five great buildings which have been named in the *Rajatarangini* as Panhasakesava, Muktakesava, Mahavaraha Govardhanadhara and Rajavihara. The first four were temples dedicated to the worship of Visnu. The last one was a Buddhist convent.

Cunningham placed Parihasapura on the right or eastern bank of the Behat near the village of Sambal.[101] But his identification is unsupported by any evidence. According to Stein, ancient Parihasapura lay in the present *pargana* of Paraspor and comprised the little tract lying between the marshes of the Manymor and Hartrath on the left bank of the Vitasta, immediately to the south-west of Shadipar. The identity is based upon the phonetic similarity of Parihasapura and Paraspor. Besides, ruins of several large temples and a *vihara*, each of which seems to have consisted of a central edifice and an enclosing quadrangle (some of them measuring consider-ably in excess of those of Lalitaditya's temple of Martanda) have been found on the site. They are, in all probability, the Visnu temples and the Buddhist *vihara* of Parihasapura said, in the *Rajatarangini*, to have been erected by Lalitaditya.[102] According to the *Rajatarangini* the shrine of Vainyasvamin was situated at Parihasapura.[103] This shrine can be identified with certainty with the ruined temple of Malikpor about a mile from the ruins of temples in the north

of Parihasapura.

The causes for the utter ruin of the city of Parihasapura are not far to seek. The royal seat at Parihasapura was removed by Vajraditya shortly after Lalitaditya's death which must have diminished its importance.[104] The irrigation operations of Avantivarman's minister Suyya removed the junction of the river Vitasta and Sindhu from Parihasapura to Shadipar as a result of which Parihasapura lost most of its former importance. Shortly after this, Samkaravarman used materials from Parihasa pura, for the construction of his new town and temples at Patan.[105] In the 11th century A.D. king Harsa's troops stormed Parihasapura, burnt the Rajavihara and broke up the silver image of Parihasakdava.[106] The final destruction of the city was caused by Sikandar Butshikan (A.D. 1389-1413).[107]

Lalitaditya's grandson Jayapida built two towns called Jayapura and Dvaravati. In the former, he set lip three Buddha images, a large *vihara,* a shrine of Jayadevi and a temple of *caturatman* Kdava.[108] Both the towns, it seems, were situated upon a lake.[109] Jayapura was popularly known in Kalhana's time as *abhyantara kotta* and Dvaravati as *vahya kotta.*

Jayapura has been identified with the present village of Andarkoth 'which lies partly on an island. rising from the Sambal lake, and partly on the low lying strip of land separating that lake from the Vitasta'. Many of the ruins, found on the site, are attributed by the local people to a king named Jayapid. One of the largest ruins on the north-west corner of the plateau has been actually recognised by Buhler[110] as a temple of Visnu and this may correspond to the temple of Kesava mentioned by Kalhana. Some of the oldest glossators of the *Rajatarangini* also explain *abhyantara kotta* of

Kalhana as Andarkoth. The town of Jayapura survived as late as the 15th century, for Srivara refers to it several times in his Chronicle.[111] The town of Dvaravati, of which no further mention is found elsewhere, seems to have been placed over several detached hamlets, all belonging to Andarkoth, which stretch in a semicircle along the edge of the lake to the north of the island of Andarkoth. The ruins found here are comparatively few and they too are attributed by the local tradition to king Jayapida.

In the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. Padma, the maternal uncle of the king Cippata Jayapida, built the town of Padmapura.[112] It is the modern town of Pampar on the Vitasta. Due to its position in the middle of a fertile tract of land, Padmapura seems to have been always a place of some importance. The town has been often mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* and in the later chronicles.[113]

During the reign of Avantivarman, three new towns were founded in the valley. Of these, the town of Avantipura was built by the king himself.[114] It is marked by the present village of Vantipor, on the Vitasta. Among the ruins of this place, can be recognized the remains of the two old temples of Siva Avantisvara and Visnu Avantisvamin.[115] The large number of ruins extending upto the hills east of the Vantipor tend to show that in former times the town used to cover a large area. That Avantipura was a town of considerable importance long after the dale of its foundation is vouched for by its references in the *Samayamatrka,*[116] the *Rajatarangini*[117] and later chronicles.[118]

The next town, Surapura owed its foundation to Avantivarman's minister Sura.[119] It has been identified with the present Hurapor situated in the valley of Rembyar stream, on the route which leads to the pass of the Pir Pantsal. From

Kalhana's testimony to the transfer of the *dranga* of Kramavarta to this place and from his other statements,[120] it is evident that Surapura was an important centre of trade in early days and one of the main routes of communication with the south lay through it.

The third town of this period, Suryapura was built by Suyya, the irrigation minister of Avantivarman on the bank of the Vitasta, where she leaves the waters of the Mahapadma.[121] It is undoubtedly the present Sopur, situated exactly in the position, referred to by Kalhana. Avantivarman's son Samkaravarman, founded the city of Samkarapurapattana.[122] Its identity with the present village of Patan on the high road from Srinagara to Baramula, is established by Kalhana's testimony who says that subsequently Samkarapura lost its proper appellation and became known only by the name of Pattana.[123] The temples of Samkaragaurisvara and Sugandhesa, said to have been built by Samkaravarman in this place,[124] can be identified with two ruined temples of Patan.[125] In the pre-Muhammadan Kasmira, Pattana was famous for the display of woollen cloths, trade in cattle and the like.[126]

If Kalhana is to be believed, queen Didda founded two towns called Abhimanyupura and Kankanapura; the former to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit, and the latter to increase the eminence of the merit of her husband, Kankanavarsa.[127] Abhimanyupura is not traceable. Kankanapura is perhaps marked by the present village of Kangan, on the right bank of the river Sind.

THE PEOPLE

From the remotest time up to the coming of the Muhammadans, various types of people, of different races, language and culture had come to Kasmira, settled in the

valley and had gradually merged into a homogeneous Kasmiri people. It is not possible to take an estimate of the specific races who came to the valley, since there is no systematic record of their infiltration. But if we look to the people of Kasmira we find in the very formation of their bodies, in their language and in their culture, traces of different racial characteristics.

In the early part of the 2nd century B.C. the Indo-Greek invasion of Kasmira seems to have taken place. Probably Demetrius and Menander and perhaps several other Indo-Greek princes ruled over portions of the valley.[128] But the Indo-Greek penetration may be taken to be more or less in the nature of military incursion and it is doubtful, whether during the Indo-Greek rule any considerable amount of race-admixture between the Yavana's and the existing Kasmirian people took place. The Saka, Se or Scythians, due to the Yue-chi pressure arrived in India about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and occupied the plains of Peshawar. Sometime afterwards, a branch of the Sakas might have settled over some parts of Kasmira.[129] Baltistan is in the neighbourhood of Kasmira. The Baltis are generally considered to be the descendants of the Sakas. It is not unlikely that from Baltistan some migrations took place in Kasmira even in later times.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Kusana rulers held sway over Kasmira. The line of Kaniska's rule over Kasmira is attested to by literary as well as numismatic evidence.[130] During the reign of these Kusanas, a large number of Yue-chis (the stock to which the Kusanas belonged) must have come and settled in Kasmira. Settlement of Central Asian Yue-chi-like people in the valley, about the 4th century A.D. is confirmed by carved tiles discovered at Harwan.

The Hun invasion, which swept northern India during the later part of the 5th and the earlier part of the 6th centuries A.D., had its repercussion on the history of Kasmira. In fact, of all the regions of India it is in the secluded valley only, that the Hunas could find a ready shelter. Mihirakula's rule over Kasmira is testified to by Hiuen Tsang and Kalhana.[131] Kasmirian names like Toramana, Vasukula, Hiranyakula, Khinkhila, etc., indicate to a certain extent the influence of the Hunas in Kasmirian population.

The last foreign tribe from the north-west, who might have settled in Kasmira in pre-Muhammadan days, was perhaps the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras are generally considered to belong to the Huna stock. But as their affiliation with the latter is not known for 'certain, it is better to regard them as a separate tribe, if not as a separate race. In the present population of Kasmira, the Gurjars, the Rajputs and the Jats, all hailing from the Gurjara stock predominate. About early Gurjara settlement in Kasmira, no evidence is forthcoming. Gurjara occupation of northern Punjab has, however, left indelible mark in names of localities like Guzerat or Gujranwala. Gurjara king Bhoja's occupation of certain territories in north-eastern Punjab is also hinted at in the *Rajatarangini*.[132] From the Pehoa inscription we further learn that the district of Karnal remained under the rules of Gurjara kings Bhoja and Mahendrapala I.[133] Gurjara emigration into Kasmira might have taken place from north Punjab, presumably during the Karkota period, when parts of Punjab were included in the Kasmira empire.

During the pre-Muhammadan period, Kasmira had intimate links with Tibet and some people from that country might be expected to have come and settled in the valley. About the existence of the Tibetans in the ancient Kasmirian

population there is probably some evidence. The Bhauttas overran the valley of Kasmira, according to Kalhana, in the periods preceding the Huna invasion.[134] A *garu* from Loh, is said to have settled in Kasmira.[135] Kalhana also speaks of a caste called Kirata who constituted an important community in the lower stratum of the society. The Kiratas evidently belonged to the Tibeto-Burman racial group.

Considerable migration of populations into the territory of Kasmira had taken place from the Indian side too. From Kalhana's evidence it seems that Kasmira formed a part of the far-flung empire of the Mauryas. Emperor Asoka is said to have founded the city of Srinagara as well as various religious establishments.[136] With the extension of the Maurya rule in the valley, it is only natural that Indian people from other parts of the Maurya empire would enter and settle in the valley. About the races and peoples who went to Kasmira from the plains of India in the post-Asokan period, no definite evidence is available. But gradual and constant migration of Indian population must have taken place in Kasmira throughout the period of the Hindu rule. This is discernible from the essentially Sanskritic culture of the valley. The poets, playwrights and scholars of Kasmira composed their works in Sanskrit and even in Kasmirian language there are many words which are Sanskritic in origin. Some of the notable persons of pre-Muhammadan Kasmira actually trace their ancestry from India proper. Abhinavagupta's and Bilhana's forefathers lived in Madhyadesa whereas Abhinanda's ancestors hailed from Gauda.[137]

About the different races of people who entered Kasmira in the historic period, posterior to the days of Asoka, a rough account at least is available. But what about those who

inhabited Kasmira in the pre-Asokan period? No literary or archaeological data regarding these earliest inhabitants of Kasmira are forthcoming. Some proto-neolithic and neolithic implements have been discovered in Kasmira[138] but they are too insignificant to throw any light on the culture and racial characteristics of their users.

In the absence of any other evidence, linguistic palaeontology may be utilized for tracing the history of the different populations who entered Kasmira in the pre-historic period. In fact, a critical analysis of the Kasmirian language itself may be of much help in finding out the ethnic origin of its speakers.

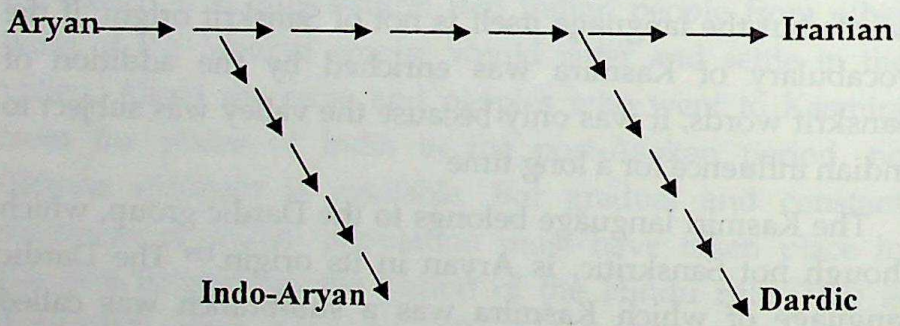
The Kasmiri language contains a large number of Sanskrit words but the language itself is not of Sanskrit origin. If the vocabulary of Kasmira was enriched by the addition of Sanskrit words, it was only because the valley was subject to Indian influence for a long time

The Kasmiri language belongs to the Dardic group, which though not Sanskritic, is Aryan in its origin.[139] The Dardic language of which Kasmira was a sub-branch was called Paisaci in ancient Sanskrit literature. Though Sanskrit grammarians class it as one of the Prakrts, it was not really a Prakrt, but a very ancient language, which was a sister and not a daughter of that form of speech which later on developed in India as literary Sanskrit. The spheres of the Paisaci language were generally confined to the region between the Hindu Kush and the Indian frontier.[140]

The Paisaci of Dardic language, as Grierson has rightly pointed out,[141] belonging undoubtedly to Aryan stock is nevertheless neither Iranian nor Indo-Aryan. The Dardic language and hence for that matter the Kasmirian language possesses certain peculiarities of its own, while in some

respects, it agrees with the Indo-Aryan and again in some other aspects with the Iranian languages. Neither does it contain all the characteristics of the Indo-Aryan language nor of the Iranian. It seems, therefore, that when the Dardic language issued from the Aryan language, the Indo-Aryan language had already branched forth from it, and the Aryan language had already developed along its own lines but it had not yet progressed so far as to contain all the characteristics of the Iranian.

This separation of the Dardic language from the main branch of the Aryan language and its relation with the Indo--Aryan and, Iranian languages may be sketched with the help of the following diagram as suggested by Grierson.



At what time the ancestors of the Dardic speakers separated themselves from the main branch of the Aryans, we do not know. But the event seems to have taken place not long after the Indo-Aryans had entered India. Whereas the Indo-Aryans entered into the valley of the river Kabul and then spread into the plains of India and the ancestors of the Iranian speakers migrated westwards, in Merv, Persia and Baluchistan, another branch of the Aryans went to the east and occupied the Pamirs, the home of the Ghalchah languages. The Ghalchah languages possess all the Iranian characteristics present in the Dardic speech, while at the same time, these very Iranian. Ghalchah languages have a few

peculiarities in which they follow the Dardic languages in agreeing with the Indian as against Iranian. It thus follows that the ancestors of the Dardic tribes at first lived in the Pamirs but afterwards migrated to their present habitat, Citral and Gilgit, which lie just below the Pamirs, connected with latter by the Dora and one or two other passes. From Citral and Gilgit, the Dardistan proper, the speakers of the Darad languages seem to have infiltrated into the valley of Kasmira and developed the Kasmiri tongue which forms today one of the principal members of the Darad group of languages.

But were the ancestors of the Darad speakers the earliest inhabitants of the valley of Kasmira or was Kasmira populated already, when they penetrated into it? The study of the language may again help us to find the answer.

Philology may be taken with some confidence as a guide in the cases of tribes whose languages are *morient*. When small tribes are found clinging to a dying form of speech, surrounded by powerful languages which have superseded the neighbouring speeches, and which has started to supersede this form of speech also, it may be concluded that the dying language is the original language of the land and it gives a clue to the racial affinities of its speakers. This is exactly the case with the Dardic language and for that matter with the Kasmiri language. The Dardic languages are spoken in a territory which is bounded by the Iranian languages, particularly by the Pushtu and Ghalchah on the north-west, west and south-west, by various Indo-Aryan languages in the south and south-east, by several types of Tibetans on the east and by unclassed non-Aryan Burushaski of Hunza nagar on the north-east. Of these, Burushaski seems to remain as the most predominant element in the Dard language whereas the influences of other languages are quite negligible. Over the

whole of the Dardistan there is an underlayer of Burushaski words and phrases. At the bottom of the Kasmiri language too, there is a small and unimportant element of Burushaski. As Kasmira proper is situated far away from the present habitat of Burushaski, it is evident that the speakers of Burushaski, the inhabitants of Hunza-nagar, occupied the valley of Kasmira before the coming of the ancestors of the Dard speaking peoples. In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* there are references of a certain low class people called Nisadas.[142] Can they stand for the non-Aryan Burushaski speakers?

The conclusions, arrived at after a linguistic survey of the Kasmiri language, seem to receive curious confirmation from a literary product of the valley. This is the Kasmirian *Purana* called the *Nilamata*.[143] According to this work Kasmira was originally inhabited by the Nagas. The reminiscences of ancient Naga rule are perhaps indicated by the names of lakes and springs like Vernag, Anantanag, Sernag, etc. Be as it may, the Nagas of ancient Kasmira, according to the *Nilamata*, were followed by the Pisacas, with whom, however, their relation was anything but friendly. Last of all, men entered tile valley. The Pisacas were at first hostile to the human beings, but afterwards had to abandon the valley rendering it as permanent home for men. Perhaps the Nagas were the ancient people of Hunzanagar, the speakers of Burushaski, the Pisacas were the Aryan invaders, the speakers of the Pisaca or Dardic languages, and the men represented the Sanskrit speaking people of the Indian plains who entered the valley in a comparatively later period and glorified themselves in their own composition, the *Nilamatapurana*.

The ethnological analysis of the Kasmirian people can never be complete unless and until we take an account of their physical traits both external and internal, or even to

some extent their physiological characteristics. In fact only the statistics of a scientific physical examination of a large group of peoples of different strata of the society, carried on in the same uniform method, can give us some solid foundation relying upon which we can make out to a great extent the specific human races that entered Kasmira since the dawn of history and also ascertain the degree of their inter-mixture up to the present day. Unfortunately no systematic physical examination of the Kasmirian people has yet been made. The majority of the Kasmirian people, however, possess a light transparent brown skin and are usually of medium to tall stature. They are much dolichocephalic, have a well-developed forehead, a long narrow face, regular features and a prominent, straight and finely cut leptorrhine nose. The same type is found among the people of Afghanistan, Citral, Balti and northern Punjab. The probable area of characterisation of this race, therefore, seems to have been between the Hindukush and the Sulaiman mountains, from where it spread into northern and eastern India. Linguistic evidence, as we have already seen; confirms this conclusion. This type of race which inhabits Kasmira, Citral, Gilgit, Afghanistan, Baltistan and Punjab is the Indo-Afghan of Haddon,[144] the Nordic of Guha,[145] the Indid of Von Eickstedt.[146]

These Indo-Afghans or Nordics who infiltrated into Kasmira from Gilgit and Citral are identical with the ancestors of the Darad speaking tribes, the Pisacas of the Sanskrit literature. Majority of the present Kasmirian people appear to be their descendants. As the racial characteristics of these Indo-Afghans from Afghanistan down to the Punjab are almost identical, it may be concluded that this race had been able to preserve their racial purity to a considerable extent

and their admixture with other races had been comparatively few, due probably to the inaccessible mountainous hill-locked character of their territories.

From the historical evidence, however, it is clear that several other races had entered Kasmira afterwards. Some of them might have made merely military incursions, but a few of them may be expected to have settled in the valley and mixed with the existing people. About the physical features of these races, so far as we know, the Sakas were mesocephalic, with a low head, straight eyes, a well formed straight nose and projecting chin. Though essentially belonging to the Proto-Nordic steppe folk, they were undoubtedly a mixed people, when they infiltrated in the valley. The Yue-chis were of Turki descent, who appear to have been very brachycephalic with elongated oval face, broad cheek bones, straight nose, dark Mongolian eyes, thick lips, yellowish white to coppery brown complexion, medium stature and dark hair, much on face. The Huns were a mixed Turki and Tungus people, brachycephalic, with prominent cheek bones, broad flat face, dark eyes with Mongolian characteristics, black hair, very little in the body, complexion varying from yellowish to yellowish brown and medium stature. The western Tibetans who had an intimate relation with Kasmira in earlier days and who invaded Kasmira in the last days of Hindu rule under Rincana the Bhautta were apparently xanthoderm, mesorrhine and mesocephalic. The Indians migrating from the plains into the valley naturally had various racial characteristics peculiar to them, about which we have no definite knowledge. How far these different races have influenced the Kasmiri people we cannot say at present. The question can be answered only after an exhaustive analysis of the physical and physiognomical features of the majority of its inhabitants taken from different strata of society.

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is not used. The people of Kasmira call the country by the name of Kashir and the language Koshir. This word itself is an example of the Dardic origin of the Kasmirian language, for in Indo-Aryan language the change of sm to s or ś would not have occurred.

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CHAPTER – II

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE first anchorage in the political history of Kasmira is furnished by the rule of Asoka. It is difficult to trace the events that had taken place earlier. But it is most unlikely that Kasmira did remain completely unaffected by the mighty political movements that shook the north-western frontiers of India in the pre-Asokan period.

The Persian invasion of India took place in the sixth century B.C. From the accounts of the Greek historians, the Persian king Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus and the Kabul valley, especially the Gandarians.[1] In the Behistun inscription of Darius, Gadara, i.e., Gandhara is mentioned as one of the provinces of his empire. Generally speaking, Gandhara denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. But sometimes it also includes Kasmira and we have already noted that Hecataeus of Miletus who was a contemporary of Cyrus and Darius refers to Kaspapyros, i.e., Kashmir as a Gandaric city. It is, therefore, not unlikley that Kasmira might haw come under the sway of the Achaemenids.

During the time of Alexander's campaign, Kasmira seems to have been under the rule of the king of Abhisara. He at first helped the chief of Assakenos against Alexander by sending military help but afterwards offered submission to the latter. It is said that when Alexander, at the close of his campaign was returning from India, he left the king of Abhisara to rule over Kasmira with the State of Arsaces (Urasa=Hazara) added to his kingdom.[2]

About the pre-Asokan days of his land, Kalhana[3] is not silent, but little reliance can be placed upon him for the history of that period. He says that in the earliest time there ruled in Kasmira fifty-two rulers. Their names were not recorded by later chroniclers, but four of them had the fortune of being mentioned in the *Nilamatapurana*. They were Gonanda I, his son Damodara I, Damodara's wife Yasovati and Yasovati's son Gonanda II. Kalhana connects these kings with some of the legends of the *Mahabharata* which can be easily dismissed as a myth. Gonanda II was followed by thirty-five kings whose names perished through the destruction of records. They were followed by eight kings named respectively as Lava, Kusa, Khagendra, Surendra, Godhara, Suvarna, Janaka and Sacinara. The first four belonged to one dynasty and the last four to the other. It is said that some of these princes granted *agraharas* to the Brahmanas, a few of them built towns and one of them excavated a canal. Nothing is known about the historicity of any of them.

The king next mentioned is Asoka, son of Sacinara's grand-uncle and great grandson of Sakuni. He embraced the doctrine of Jina, set up *viharas* and *stupas* at Vitastatra and Suskaletra, and erected a town named Srinagari. A Saiva temple of Vijayesvara was repaired and two new ones called

Asokesvara were built by him. Though Kalhana represents Asoka as a local ruler, yet his description of the king as a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha and builder of numerous *stupas* mark him out as the Maurya emperor of the namesake. The fact receives corroboration from Hiuen Tsang[4] who saw Asokan *stupas* in the valley and from the *Mahavamsa*[5] which speaks of Asoka's missionary activity in the region.

According to the *Rajatarangini*, Asoka was followed by his son Jalauka and the latter by a king named Damodara II after which the valley' passed into the hands of Turuska rulers called Huska, Juska and Kaniska. Jalauka is described as a good warrior who freed the valley from the *mleccha* occupation and effected extensive conquests, including Kanyakubja. He is also said to be an able administrator. A follower of Siva, he at first was against Buddhism but afterwards adopted a friendly attitude towards it. The statements of Kalhana regarding Asoka's son cannot be checked from any other source.

After the fall of the Maurya empire, north-west India was subject to several foreign invasions and the valley of Kasmira could not possibly keep herself immune from these convulsions. Tarn[6] suggests that for a few years Demetrius was the lord of a realm which included southern Kasmira. A fragment in Ptolemy (VII, 42) gives the names of two provinces in Menander's home kingdom east of the Jhelum of which Kaspeiria, the upper valleys of the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi, would correspond to southern Kasmira. In the *Milindapanha* it is stated that the discussion between Nagasena and Milinda was held at a place which was only 12 *yojanas* from Kasmira.[7] Cunningham records a large find of silver coins of Azes and Azilises 'on the bank of the Jhelum River, in the hills between Baramula and Jhelum'.[8]

Kalhana's account of Turuska rulers indicates without doubt the Kusana occupation of the valley. Of the three kings mentioned by him, Huska may be identified with Huviska, Juska with Vasiska, and Kaniska with Kaniska I or II, more accurately with the former. Each of them is credited with the foundation of a town. These, christened after their names were called Huskapura, Juskapura and Kaniskapura, The towns still exist. Besides, the princes are said to have built many *mathas, caityas* and other similar structures almost all of which seem to have perished. According to the Chronicler the valley of Kasmira was under the influence of the Buddhists during the Turuska rule. This is what we also learn from Hiuen Tsang. The poet-historian assigns the celebrated Buddhist preacher Nagarjuna to this period.

The next historical personage of Kalhana's narrative is Mihirakula, who is none other than the celebrated Huna ruler. Between the period of the Turuskas and that of the Huna ruler, Kalhana has fixed certain rulers. Of these, Abhimanyu is credited with the foundation of a town called Abhimanyupura. Under his orders the *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali was brought into the valley. During his reign, Buddhism rose to a prominence and this infuriated the Nagas, who sent successive snowfall to kill the Buddhists, At the end, the traditional religion of the land as prescribed in the *Nilamatapurana* was established, Next king Gonanda III further promoted the cause of the traditional religion. He was followed by four kings, Vibhisana I, Indrajit, Ravana and Vibhisana II, names which remind one of the demon warriors of the *Ramayana* The last one was succeeded by his son Nara who built a town after his name. Then came five kings, Siddha, Utpalaksa, Hiranyaksa, Hiranyakula and Vasukula who ruled in succession.

It is not the *Rajatarangini* but the coins, attributed to the

kings of Kasmira who ruled from the sixth century onwards, that hint in a curious way about events that might have taken place after the end of the Imperial Kusana rule. The Toramana copper coins which were current in the valley presumably from that period onwards, and the electrum and copper coins of the Karkota rulers (7th to 9th century) have as their type a king standing and a seated goddess, a type adopted by the Kidara Kusana rulers in their gold issues. Particularly, the Karkota coin type of headless king and seated goddess is nothing but a degenerated Kidara type. Besides, both the Toramana Issues and the issues of the Karkota have either in their obverse or in the reverse the letters *Kidara* or *Kida* or simply *Ki*, thus copying the Kidara Kusana legend. All that it may indicate is that before the sixth century, the Kidara Kusana coins were in circulation in the valley of Kasmira and served as a model of the succeeding issues. The exact time period of the Kidara Kusana occupation can not be ascertained, but a date in the latter half of the fifth century is not unlikely.

According to the Chronicle of Kalhana Vasukula was succeeded by his son Mihirakula. He was a cruel and ruthless warrior. He used to massacre thousands of human beings without any compassion for children, women or the aged. Mihirakula inflicted a crushing defeat upon the king of Ceylon[9] and performed many supernatural deeds. He built the shrine of Siva in his capital, founded a town in his own name and donated *agrahāras* to Gandhara Brahmanas. The king ended his life by throwing himself in to fire.

Hiuen Tsang[10] refers to Mihirakula's rule over the secluded vale. The Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman[11] tends to show that his capital was in the Himalayan region or at least not much removed from it. Under the circumstances, Mihirakula's sway over Kasmira may be taken to be a settled fact.

Kalhana's statement regarding the king is not without exaggeration. But his description of the king as rapacious and bloodthirsty receives corroboration from Hiuen Tsang's account and popular traditions. The king's devotedness to Siva also appears to be real.[12]

What happened in Kasmira on Mihirakula's death is difficult to collect or even to conjecture. The poet-historian continues his narrative but in the absence of and corroborative evidence his authenticity may very well be doubted particularly when his account seems mainly compounded of myths and legends. Whatever traces of history may be lying hidden in the tale presented by Kalhana, can not be easily distilled out of the hotch-potch. So for another hundred years, the history of Kasmira remains shrouded in mystery, till the advent of Durlabhavardhana, when once again we step in to the sober ground of history.

According to Kalhana, Mihirkula was succeeded by his son Baka. He founded a town, grooved a canal and built a temple of Siva. He was followed by four kings, Ksitinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II and Aksa. Vasunanda wrote a book on erotics and Aksa founded a village. King Gopaditya, who came next, founded many *agraharas* and consecrated a shrine of Jyesthesvara on the mountain Gopadri. His son built a temple of Siva Gokarnesvara after his own name. His successor king Narendraditya had a second name Khainkhila. He consecrated shrines to Siva Bhutesvara and his preceptor Ugra to Siva Ugresa. He also established an endowment for the feeding of Brahmanas. Narendraditya's son Yudhisthira, also called blind Yudihsthira was an oppressive ruler. He was driven out by his ministers and subjects. The vacant throne was filled up by a person called Pratapaditya I, a relative of king Vikramaditya who came from abroad. The valley, from

the time of Pratapaditya onwards, suffered from internal dissensions and consequently became subject to Harsa[13] and other foreigners. After Pratapaditya, his son Jalaukas ruled over the land. King Tunjina who followed Jalaukas was a contemporary of poet Candaka. During his reign, a serious famine visited the valley. Tunjina's successor Vijaya built the shrine of Vijaydvara. He was followed by his son Jayendra and the latter by his minister Samdhimati. Samdhimati Aryaraja was a pious ruler. He built shrines of Siva, and founded *lingas, trisulas* and bulls of Siva. But his pacifism was disliked by the people, who compelled him to retire and brought in his place Meghavahana. A descendant of the formerly banished and blind king Yudhisthira, Meghavahana was living at the time at Gandhara. Meghavahana was a vigorous and pious ruler who carried on some conquests, and prohibited the slaughter of living creatures within his realm and founded a village, an *agrahara* and a temple. His wife Amrtaprabha also shared her husband's pious emotions and built a *vihara* in her name for the benefit of foreign *bhiksus* while her father's preceptor *Stunpa* (who came from a foreign country called Loh) established the *stupa* of Lo Stonpa.

Meghavahana was succeeded by his son Sresthasena, also known by two other names of Pravarasena and Tunjina. He built various holy shrines at Puranadhisthana. After Sresthasena, his eldest son Hiranya ascended the throne while the youngest, Toramana, became crown prince. Once Toramana coined money in his own name. This incited the wrath of Hiranya who put the latter into prison where Toramana died in captivity. In the meantime Hiranya died without heir and the throne of Kasmira which fell vacant was filled up by a poet named Matrgupta, a nominee of king Vikramaditya of Ujjain. This poet-king was a patron of literature and Vaisnava in

faith. He extended his patronage to Bhartrmentha and built a shrine of Visnu Matrguptasvamin.

Matrgupta however, could not reign long. The death of Vikramaditya of Ujjayini weakened his position. Pravarasena II, son of Toramana, who had been brought up in a farmer's house and spent his early life abroad, entered Kasmira and seized the throne after forcing Matrgupta to abdicate and to take refuge in the sacred *tirtha* of Varanasi.

Pravarasena proved his martial qualities by invading Surastra[14] and defeating the king Mummuni.[15] He reinstated Siladitya-Pratapasila, the son of Vikramaditya, on his paternal throne from which he had been deposed by his enemies. At home, a great achievement of his was the foundation of the city of Pravarapura.

Pravarasena was succeeded by his son Yudhisthira II and the latter by his son Lakhana Narendraditya. The king Ranaditya who came next, ruled for an unusually long period of three hundred years as the legend goes. He built some shrines in honour of Siva. His son king Vikramaditya built stone temples and monasteries. Then came Baladitya, who had a daughter named Anangalekha. Durlabhavardhana, a small official in the king's court married the princess and on Baladitya's death, occupied the throne.

The account of Kalhana, as given above, cannot be taken to be a reliable one in many respects. The anecdotes of Ranaditya, who is said to have ruled for three hundred years (apparently an improbable length of time) or of Tunjina I whose queen is said to have fed the subjects in times of famines by sending them numberless dead pigeons through her supernatural powers and similar other versions, can best be regarded as legendary tales. A great part of his story cannot be confirmed for lack of corroborative evidence and hardly

deserves any consideration. But some portions of the narrative cannot be rejected as unreal. The Amrtaprabhavihara, said to have been built during the reign of Meghavahana, seems to be referred to in the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong's account as monastery of *Ngo-mito-po-wan*.[16] The word *Stunpa* in the Tibetan language means preceptor or *Guru*. Reference of the building of a *stupa* by the preceptor of queen Amrtaprabha's father, who came from a foreign territory called Loh, indicates an intimate connection between Leh, i.e., Tibet and Kasmira in an early period.

The striking of copper coins by Toramana, brother of Hiranya may also have some truth behind. A large number of copper coins with the legend *Toramana* are found in the valley. Though these coins were current up to the end of the Hindu rule, their first circulation might date as far back as the middle of the 6th century A.D.[17] It is not unlikely that they were struck by Hiranya's brother. Whether or not Toramana of Kalhana is the same as Hana Toramana, the father of Mihirakula, is a debatable point.But the account recorded in the *Rajatarangini* has nothing in it to prove the identity.[18]

Pravarasena II, son of Toramana, is undoubtedly a historical figure. The city of Pravarapura owes its name to him. To him can also be attributed some gold and silver coins which bear unmistakable influence of the Kidara Kusana coins.[19] Exact dates of Pravarasena cannot be determined. But it is likely that he flourished in the later half of the 6th century.

Vikramaditya Harsa of Ujjayini is described as an earlier contemporary of Pravarasena A and his son Siladitya Prataipasila as a later one. The Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century mentions Siladitya of Malwa who lived in *c.* 580 A.D.[20] and apparently indicates him as the successor of Vikramaditya.[21] But the alleged influence of the latter over the

secluded valley goes unconfirmed.

It is very likely that Mihirakula's rule over Kasmira was followed by other Huna rulers. Though Kalhana does not specifically mention any other prince as Huna, some of the names recorded by him disclose their foreign identity. Narendraditya, who had another name Khinkhila might be a Huna King.[22] Hiranyakula, Vasukula and Toramana look like Huna names. They might well be Hinduised Huna princes. Lakhana Narendraditya is perhaps to be identified with *Raja* Lakhana Udayaditya, who struck silver coins of the Epthalite Huna type.[23]

With Durlabhavardhana, we emerge out of the dim twilight of myth and legend into the dear light of history. For, from the 7th century onwards, the course of political history of Kasmira, may be traced with tolerable accuracy from the account left by Kalhana. Yet, upto the 10th century we are on firm, but not indubitable ground, as still history tends often to lose itself in a maze of Jegend and myth and exaggerated stories. But the lapses are made up to a certain degree, by the informations vouchsafed us by the Chinese historians of the Tang period. The pages of Hiuen Tsang, au-kung, Alberuni and Ksemendra and the epilogue of Jonaraja, when Kalhana is silent, help us a good deal to reconstruct the historical edifice of this period. The coins also tell us an almost continuous story of succession of king of this time.

Durlabhavardhana, a man of lowly origin took service under king Baladitya, married his daughter and after the king's death, succeeded him. He is said to have been the offspring of the Naga Karkota, a deity worshipped in some of the springs of Kasmira. Hence the dynasty founded came to be known as Karkota. This story of descent from serpent seems to be an ingenious invention to cover the humble

origin of a family that rose from the rut.

Durlabhavardhana's historicity is beyond doubt. A number of coins, with rude execution of headless king and seated goddess type with the name of the king written over them,[24] apparently belong to him. Possibly he is referred to in a notice of the Chinese Annals which say that *Tu-lo-pa*, a king of India, controlled the route from China to the Kabul valley at a point between 627 and 649 A.D.[25] It is likely that the date of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Kasmira fell within his reign. Durlabhavardhana appears to have ruled over a pretty large territory which included besides Kasmira, Taksasila, east of the Indus, Urasa or Hazara, Simhapura or the salt range and the smaller hill states of Rajapuri and Parnotsa. Probably Taksasila was conquered by him.

After Durlabhavardhana's death, his son Pratapaditya II Durlabhaka became the king of Kasmira. Apart from the foundation of Pratapapura (present Tapar) he achieved little of note. Coins of characteristic Karkota type with the legend *Sri-Pratapa* have sometimes been attributed to him, but these may as well belong to his son Lalitaditya, who also is said to have assumed the title of Pratapaditya. Findspot and other considerations, as we shall shortly see, seem to favour the latter view.

Candrapida, the eldest son, succeeded his father Pratapaditya II. He is to be identified with *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li* mentioned in the Chinese Annals and ruling over Kasmira between A.D. 713 and 720.[26] The Chinese sources speak of his application to the king of China for aid against the Arabs against whom he must have carried on expeditions.[27]

Candrapida was followed by his brother Tarapida who died after a short reign.

The king to come next is Muktapida Lalitaditya who was

the youngest of the brothers. He is credited with extensive conquest both in India and in the Himalayan regions. He is said to have defeated Yasovarman, king of Kanauj, overrun Kalinga, brought under his submission Karnata princess Rana, and marched through the kingdoms of Konkana, Dvaraka and Avanti. Possibly he fought also with the king of Gauda.

In the Himalayan region, his claim of conquest is over the Kambojas, Tukharas, Darads, Bhattas and Mummuni. The adjoining territories which are said to have come under his away include Jalamdhara and Lohara. The Sahi princes, according to Kalhana, held court offices under him. The king is further alleged to have carried his arms to Strirajaya, kingdom of Uttarakurus, Pragjyotisa and the ocean of sands.

The account of Lalitaditya's expedition is exaggerated, but not altogether baseless. In the north Indian plains he defeated Yasovarman, the mighty ruler of Kanauj. This is clear from Kalhana's very vivid, very detailed description of the conflict. Kalhana says that the master of Kanyakubja at first made peaceful submission to the Kasmirian king, but afterwards incurred the latter's displeasure by the guileful tactics adopted by him in the course of the treaty negotiations. As a result he was wholly uprooted *(samulam udapatayat)*. There is numismatic evidence too to indicate Kasmirian occupation of Madhyadesa in or about the eighth century. A large number of electrum and copper coins of the characteristic Karkop type with the legend Sri-Pratapa, have been discovered in severa sites of U.P. and Bihar.[28] In the *Rajatarangini* there is a passage which states that Lalitaditya, after his victory over the king of Kanauj, assumed the title of Pratapaditya.[29] This has led to the attribution of these coins to him. Perhaps they were circulated in the conquered territories as token of victory or were used for payment to the soldiers.

Other claims of conquests in the plains of India can not be proved. It is extremely doubtful whether the Kasmirian army did ever reach the distant lands of Deccan or the Kathiawar peninsula or marched through Kalinga or Avanti. There is no positive evidence to indicate the Kasmirian king's conflict with Gauda. But a story recorded in the *Rajatarangini* states that on the promise of personal safety, Lalitaditya invited the Gauda king to Kasmira and then treacherously killed him. The attendants of Gauda king, in revenge wanted to destroy the image of Parihasa-Kesava, the beloved deity of the Kasmirian king, but by mistake broke the Ramasvami instead. The Gaudas perished in the midst of the counter attack of the soldiers of Kasmira. 'But', says Kalhana, 'even the creators can not achieve what the Gaudas did all that occasion. . . . . The whole world is filled with the fame of the Gauda heroes' Some historians have rejected the story, but we may presume that where there is so much smoke there was once a flame.

Lalitaditya claims of conquest in the Himalayan region appear to be' more tangible. The country of the Kambojas probably lay in the eastern part of Afghanistan. The Tukharas were settled in the Tokharistan of early Muslim writers, comprising Badakshan and the immediately adjoining tracts on the upper Oxus. In the eighth century A.D.the region was populated by tribes of the Turkish race. Lalitaditya's victory in the locality receives corroboration from a tradition recorded in Alberuni's account. The tradition speaks of Kasmirian king Muttai's (i.e., Muktapida) triumph over the Turks.[30] Lalitaditya is said to have brought from the country of the Tukharas, Cankuna, whom he made his minister. Kalhana attributes to Cankuna besides a *stupa*, the foundation of two *viharas*. One of these was visited by Ou-kong.[31] Excavations have unearthed a lofty *stupa* at Parihasapura which may be taken

to be one of them. A ruined *caitya* from the same site yields some epigraphs which read as Camana and Camku.[32] They probably refer to the minister. The Darad tribe dwelt to the immediate north of Kasmira, in the region extending from Citral and Yasin, across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Cilas and Bunji to the Kisanganga valley. The Bhauttas were Tibetans. They occupied the regions immediately to the east and north east of Kasmira, i.e., the modern mountain districts of Dras, Ladakh and Skardo. Lalitaditya's claim of victory over the Tibetans receives confirmation from Tang annals.[33] The meaning of the word Mummuni is not clear. It may be a title adopted by the chief of some family or tribe living in the adjoining region of Kasmira.[34] The kingdom of Jalamdhara, if Hiuen Tsang is to be believed, included, in addition to the Jalamdhara district of Punjab, the hill territories on the upper Course of the Beas, particularly Kangra.[35] Lohara corresponds to present Punch. These territories, situated as they were just on the southern and south-eastern border of Kasmira, had naturally to feel the weight of the newly arisen power. A hold over these territories was probably necessary for the Kasmirian king for an easy passage to the Madhyadda. The Sallis who served the Court of Kasmira were probably the Sahi princes of the Gilgit region, who from the Hatun inscription appear to have held sway over the region sometime after the sixth century.[36] The story of Lalitaditya's conquest of other Himalayan territories, which follows next, lacks authenticity. Strirajya and Uttarakuru are semi-mythical lands the ocean of sand has been suggested to indicate the deserts of Central Asia, but it cannot be definitely proved that Lalitaditya carried his arms so far. The claim over Pragjyotisa or Assam, like that over Kalinga and Karnata, is unfounded.

Lalitaditya's reign was mostly spent on conquest, but

foreign expeditions could not wholly detract the king's attention from home. He lent a strong impulse to architecture. Kalhana attributes to him the foundation of several towns and erection of a large number of buildings. Most of the sites and structures are now wholly in ruins and beyond identification. But such among them as may be identified to some extent amply testify to the excellence of Lalitaditya as a builder. The remains of the temple of Martanda, which the king had built near the *tirtha* of the same name, are still the finest specimens of early architecture of the valley. The extensive ruins of Parihasapura also speak of his activities in the field of architecture. Some of the *stupas, viharas* and *caityas* built in his reign have been unearthed and justify by their remains the high fame which the monarch had enjoyed as a builder.

Lalitaditya appears to have been fully conscious of the dangers that might arise from the insubordination of powerful classes of the society. Damaras, the landed oilgarchy, appear to have grown into a powerful body and came to be a troublesome element in the State. Lalitaditya did not survive to crush them but he exhorted his successors not to allow the villagers to have 'more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields'. For 'if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Damaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king'. Doubtless this piece of sound advice bespeaks Lalitaditya's statesmanship and political sagacity.

Lalitaditya's rule was followed by a succession of brief inactive reigns. His son Kuvalayapida left the throne after a year in the pursuit of spiritual perfection. Another son of his, Vajraditya, who succeeded, earned notoriety by his cruel acts and sensual habits. Two other kings Prthivyapida and

Samgramapida died after brief reigns.

During the rule of these weak rulers, Kasmira seems to have suffered defeat at the hands of the Arabs. Baladhuri says that in the reign of the Abbasid Caliph-al-Mansur, his governor of Sind, Hisham ibn' Amr-al-Taghlibi conquered Kasmira obtaining many prisoners and slaves.[37] By Kasmira, Baladhuri probably meant that part of Punjab, north or Multan which was under the possession of the Karkotas at this time. The date of Amr-al-Taghlibi falls between *c.* 768-72 A.D. This period, according to the Karkota chronology accepted in this work, corresponds to the reigns of the weak successors of Lalitaditya.

Next to come was Jayapida, grandson of Lalitaditya. He is said to have repeated some of the achievements of the latter by carrying his arms in the plains of India and defeating the five Gaudas and the king of Kanauj. The claims cannot be corroborated, though in the then anarchical condition of northern India, an expedition from Kasmira was nothing much unlikely. Some sites in the Madhyadesa have yielded (Banda dist. U. P. and Rajghat, Banaras) along with the *Sri-Pratapa* coins of Lalitaditya, coins of a similar type but with the legend *Sri-Pratapa.* Some scholars are of opinion that *ja* here indicates Jayapida who struck this additional word on the prevailing coin type of his grand-father, after he had defeated the king of Kanauj or that he accompanied Lalitaditya in his expedition and as a viceroy of his grand-father's conquered provinces, struck the initial of his name on the latter's prevailing coin-type.[38] In the home province, Jayapida coined electrum and copper coins of the usual Karkota type with the legend *Vinayaditya* on them, which we learn from the *Rajatarangini,* was his second name. It may be noted that none of these coins have been found in the north Indian plains.

When Jayapida was away from Kasmira, his brother-in-law Jajja is said to have usurped the throne. Returning from his successful expeditions, Jayapida met Jajja near Suskaletra, in the Kasmira valley. A fierce battle ensued in which the latter was ousted and shill, after ruling the valley for three years.

Subsequently, Jayapida is again said to haw set out for conquest. In this expedition he encountered Bhimasena, king of eastern India and Aramudi, king of Nepal. None of these kings are otherwise known and the account looks more like legend than facts. His conquest of Strirajya also belongs to the horizon of legend. Of a more sober nature and genuine character is Kalhana's list of various scholars and poets like Ksira, Bhatta Udbhata, Damodaragupta etc. who flourished in Jayapida's court. His foundation of Jayapura, as the new capital in the marshy ground near Volur is an authentic fact. It is marked by the present Andarkoth.

During the close of his reign, Jayapida is stated to have fallen a prey to avarice and to have oppressed his subjects by fiscal exactions. A detailed account of the exactive measures adopted by him will be found in the chapter dealing with administration.

The history of the Karkota dynasty after Jayapida is a sad story of decline. Lalitapida, son and successor of Jayapida, was an indolent and profligate prince who squandered the wealth of the State in worthless pursuits. His half brother Samgramapida II or Prthivyapida achieved nothing of note during his seven years reign. Cippatajayapida, who followed him, was the son of Lalitapida by Jayadevi, a concubine of low origin. He was a minor at the time of his accession. The situation was fully exploited by his maternal uncles Padma, Utpala, Kalyana, Mamma and Dharma who exercised the royal power de-facto. After a nominal rule of twelve years,

Cippata was killed by his uncles. His follower Ajitapida was a puppet at the hands of Utpala. His reign was marked by the discord and mutual jealousy of Padma and his brothers. The hostility between the regents ultimately led to a fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala, which concluded in the latter's defeat and in the overthrow of Ajitapida. Mamma and his victorious party next raised to the throne, Anangapida, son of Samgramapida II. A few years later, Utpala's son Sukhavarman raised a successful rebellion and crowned his own nominee Utpalapida, a son of Ajitapida. Sometime after, while Sukhavarman was on the point of assuming the royal dignity himself, he was killed by a relative. The throne was ultimately secured fur his family when the powerful minister Sura deposed the reigning monarch and placed Avantivarman, son of Sukha on the throne.

Both politically and economically Kasmira suffered great loss during the regime of Jayapida's successors. Not only were the distant territories conquered by the prowess of Lalitaditya lost, but there are reasons to believe that even the adjoining hilly tracts took full advantage of the weakness of the later Karkotas and threw off the Kasmirian yoke. The expeditions of Samkàravarman, son of Avantivarman, were directed against Darvabhisara, the hill tract which stretches from the Pir Pantsal range to the plains of Punjab and Takkadesa, the region between the upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi. In the north-west, his territory extended up to Viranaka, near Baramula. It is thus clear that during the feeble rule of the later Karkotas, Kasmira had lost most of her conquered provinces and her suzerainty had come to be confined to the Vitasta basin, cast of Baramula. The economic ruin was hastened by the extravagant habits of some of the monarchs as well as by their weakness which gave the ministers

and the officers of the State a freehand in plunder. According to Kalhana the riches of Jayapida was partly squandered by his son Lalitapida, but subsequently plundered in toto by Padma and his brothers. 'They carried off the revenue of the country, feasted in mutual jealousy on the masterless kingdom, like wolves on a dead buffalo in the desert'. The valley was overtaken by disastrous floods, resulting in famines when one *khari* of rice used to fetch as high a price as 1050 *dinnaras*. The anarchical and uncertain conditions of the State had a natural effect of depression on contemporary trade and commerce. Absence of coins of the successors of Jayapida is indicative of the poor financial condition of the period.

In spite of the weak and feeble rule of the later Karkotas when 'the country had through the action of time become reduced in population and wealth' the Karkota reign as a whole must be considered as one of most glorious and remarkable periods of Kasmira history. Under the leadership of the early Karkotas, Kasmira rose to be a formidable power and carried on a policy of aggrandisement in all directions. The extravagant claims of conquest made by Kalhana are not borne out by facts. But at the same time, the incorporation of adjoining regions, conquests of a number of Himalayan tracts and acquisition of a considerable part of north Indian territory are some of the achievements that cannot be disputed. Never before the Karkota period, had Kasmira performed such a feat, nor was she able to repeat it in future. But what led to this sudden eminence? Our sources for the period do not speak of any social or economic revolution going before this spectacular rise. If there was no change in the existing socio-economic system, what else could have led Kasmira to undertake daring expeditions in the Himalayas and in the north Indian plains? Where from could she obtain the requisite money and

other necessaries to man a huge army and carryon prolonged wars? The answer is probably to be sought, not in Kasmira itself, but elsewhere. Kasmira could never conduct the expensive wars on her scanty resources. It was China who supplied the necessary men and money, it was she who dictated the foreign policy of Karkota Kasmira.

It has been seen that according to the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty, sometime between the years A.D. 627-649, Durlabhavardhana was controlling the route from China to Kipin, i.e., the Kabul valley. Whether the Karkota king was guarding the route in his independent capacity or as a vassal of the Son of Heaven, is not clear from the context, But the latter possibility can not be altogether ruled out, particularly when we learn that during the Tang period it was the Chinese who controlled routes from China to Central Asia, through the Turkish and the Turfan countries.

Tchen-to-lo-pi-li, king of Kasmira, mentioned in the Tang annals, is undoubtedly the Chinese counterpart of Candrapida. It has been already noted that he sought aid from the Chinese emperor against the Arabs in 713 A. D. Then again about A.D. 720, *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li* was at his request granted the title of 'King' on the imperial rolls.[39] This conferring of kingly dignity by the Chinese emperor conclusively proves the king of Kasmira's subordinate position.

There was no change in Sino-Kasmirian relation after Candrapida's death. His brother Lalitaditya adopted the same policy of allegiance to the Chinese Emperor.

In the second quarter of the eighth century, the growing power of the Tibetans had assumed a threat to China. There are reasons to believe that Lalitaditya carried on prolonged wars with the Tibetans to release the pressure on China. His ambassador requested military help from the Chinese emperor

and in support of his demand reported that in alliance with the king of Central India the king of Kasmira had blocked the five routes of Tibet. He also claimed for his master's repeated victory over the Tibetans, 'the dreaded enemies of China'.[40]

We have seen that in Candrapida's reign, China supplied military aid to Kasmira. In Lalitaditya's time Kasmira depended on Chinese help to fight the Tibetans. What could have led China to help Kasmira? She could scarcely have any interest in Kasmira's policy of aggrandisement, if she herself did not gain anything from it. But as it was, the expansion of Karkota Kasmira was not merely the expansion of an Indian kingdom, it seems to have been in reality, the extension of the supremacy of China in the Himalayan regions. According to Chinese testimony, in hundred years, roughly extending from 650-750, a quadrangular fight was being fought between the Turks, the Turfans, the Arabs and the Chinese, for the possession of Central Asia.[41] It is apparent that Kasmira as a subordinate ally assisted China in her enterprises in that region. Candrapida fought with the Arabs, because Chinese interests demanded it; since China came in conflict with Tibet, the king of Kasmira had to block all the routes of the hill kingdom. Lalitaditya's expeditions against the Tukharas and the Darads probably had the same objective in view, namely, to assist in the establishment of Tang supremacy in those regions.

It is true that Karkota Kasmira also adopted a policy of aggrandisement southwards, i.e., in the north Indian plains. But that was a corollary of her main policy, the conquest of the Himalayan powers. So long as the Tang dynasty was in power, Kasmira evinced great strength. But with the decline of the Tangs, came a change in the foreign policy of China. Domestic troubles compelled her to discontinue a policy of

aggression. When the Chinese help ceased, Kasmira is no longer seen to carryon a policy of expansion. She retired from the scene, never to appear again.

The chronology of the Karkotas has been a subject of much controversy. From the time of Avantivarman, Kalhana reckons the reign of every sovereign in terms of *Laukika* era. The *Laukika* era corresponds to 3076-75 B.C. and all the statements in the *Laukika* era can be worked out with reference to their Christian equivalent. But the case is otherwise in relation to the Karkotas. Except for the reign of Cippatajayapida, a later Karkota prince, whose death is said to have taken place in the *Laukika* era of 3889, the reigns of other monarchs are calculated in terms of period only and never referred to any era. Calculating backwards from Avantivarman, we of course reach to some dates for the rulers of the Karkota dynasty. The total length of reigns of all these rulers come to two hundred and fifty-four years six months which, if calculated backwards from 855-56 A.D. the date of Avantivarman's assumption of sovereignty, would give A.D. 600 as Durlabhavardhana's date of accession. The chronology of the Karkotas thus would be:

Durlabhavardhana, 600-636, Pratapaditya II, 636-686, Candrapida, 686-694, Tarapida, 694-699, Muktapida, 699-736, Kuvalayapida, 736-737, Vajraditya Bappiyaka, 737-744, Prthivyapida, 744-748, Samgramapida, 748, Jajja, 748-751, Jayapida, 751-782, Lalitapida, 782-794, Samgramapida II, 794-801, Cippatajayapida, 801-813, Ajitapida, 813-850, Anangapida, 850-853, Utpalapida 853-855.

It is interesting to note that these dates receive indirect corroboration from another late Kasmirian work, *Ratnakara Purana* which was discovered in Jainu-l-abidin's reign and whose Persian translation was prepared by Mullah Ahmad

under royal orders.[42] According to this authority Ranaditya, the legendary king of the *Rajatarangini* ruled from 414 to 474 A.D. and his immediate successor Vinayaditya from 474 to 521 A.D. After him, two more kings Vikramaditya and Baladitya ruled for 42 years and 37 years and 4 months respectively, as we learn from the *Rajatarangini*. So, Vikramaditya dates from 521 to 536 and Baladitya from 563 to 600 A.D. The date of Durlabhavardhana's accession thus comes to 600 A.D., a result obtained also from the backward calculation of the reigning periods of the Karkota kings, from Āvantivarman downwards.

This chronology of the Karkotas could perhaps be accepted at least for all working purposes, had it not been seriously contradicted by a contemporary authority, the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty. It has been already noted that *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li*, i.e. Candrapida, king of Kasmira, according to the evidence furnished by the Tang historians, applied to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 7 I 3 for aid against the Arabs and that in A.D. 720 the Son of Heaven conferred upon him the title of the king. Candrapida must have been living as late as the previous year A.D. 719, which makes the error in the Kasmirian chronology to at least twenty-five years. Then again according to the Chinese testimony Lalitaditya sent an embassy to China requesting for an alliance against the Tibetans during the reign of Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 713-755 and after the first Chinese expedition against *Po-liu* (Baltistan), which fell between the years 736-747. This places Lalitaditya apparently to a period ranging from 736 A.D. onwards, but according to the reckoning of the Indian sources that year marks the end of his reign.

Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the Chinese sources.[43] But 'the Chinese have been more precise in

their system of chronology' and certainly their evidence deserves acceptance in preference to Indian sources of later dates and unknown authorship. A general addition of 25 years with Kalhana's elates however would drag the Karkotas down to 880 A.D. when we learn for certain that Avantivarman was reigning. The only way to explain the problem is to assume that Kalhana assigned longer periods of some of the Karkota princes than what they had actually seen and thus added a total surplus of at least twenty five years to the whole. The actual reigning period of each of the Karkota kings is thus indeterminable and the problem of Karkota chronology remains unsolved.

Avantivarman's accession took place in 855-56 A.D. and he reigned up to 883. The kingdom of Kasmira as already noted, had come to be confined to the Vitasta basin during the rule of the later Karkotas and there is nothing to show that Avantivarman tried to recover those lost territories. Nonetheless, he fought throughout his reign not against any foreign legion, but within his kingdom against want and anarchy and recovered Kasmira from utter disorder and impending economic ruin.

The triumph of the Utpalites finally put an end to the ministerial rivalries for the throne. But the anarchical conditions of the later Karkota period fostered the growth of other unruly elements. The most remarkable of these was the rise of the powerful Damaras. It seems, they had been amassing fortunes by confiscating the villages endowed to temple establishments and similar other measures and were not afraid of the royal hostility. The story recorded by Kalhana of minister Sura's suppression of Dhanva, a powerful Damara, may be taken to be an example of the measures adopted in general by the royal power to curb their

troublesome forces.

The economic recovery was the next item of the programme of Avantivarman. From a remote time and particularly during the weak rule of the later Karkotas, floods and famines had frequently visited the valley. Avantivarman wanted to put an end to this recurring calamity and entrusted the work of fighting flood and famine to his minister Suyya. Suyya found that the recurrence of flood in the valley was due to the waters of the Vitasta which could not get with considerable swiftness through the gorge, some three miles below Baramula as the compressed passage got blocked with boulders. He removed the rocks and built stonewalls to protect their further sliding. He also constructed new beds for the river. As a result of these activities thousands of acres of arable land were reclaimed and hundreds of new villages sprang up on these sites. Suyya supplemented these measures by an equally important step of improving the irrigation system, which was indispensable for the cultivation of Kasmira's staple food. In the words of the Chronicler, 'after examining the different classes of land, he procured a supply of river water for the villages, which thus were no longer dependent only on rainfall. After watering all village lands, he took from each village some soil, and ascertained, by (observing) the time it took to dry up, the period within which irrigation would be required for each soil, respectively. He then arranged accordingly on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the water-course for each village, and by using for irrigation the Anula and other streams, embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce.

The economic stability of the kingdom, undeniably due to Suyya's measures to a very large extent, is reflected in the

contemporary buildings and new city foundations. The king founded the city of Avantipura (after his own name) and embellished it with two newly built temples, Avantisvara and Avantisvami. Both of them are in ruins but even in ruins, the latter stands out as one of the most imposing monuments of ancient Kasmira and bespeaks its builder's resources. Sura, the minister, vied with the king in piety and in great foundations. Sarapura, which owes its name to him was an important centre of trade and commerce throughout the ancient period. Another town, Suyyapura was founded by the irrigation minister at a place where the Vitasta, after his regulation, leaves the Volur.

Kalhana names some literary contemporaries of Avantivarman. They are Anandavardhana, the celebrated rhetorician, Muktakana, Sivasvamin and Ratnakara, poets and Bhatta, Kallata, a Saiva philosopher.

Samkaravarman succeeded his father Avantivarman after the latter's death. But his was not a peaceful accession. First of all, he had to fight with Sakhavarman, a son of Saravarman, whom some of the ministers had tried to put on the throne and then he had to face Samaravarman and other rivals. Thanks to Ratnavardhana, the wise minister of the king, Sivasakti and other associates, Samkara ultimately came out victorious.

The recovery of lost territories and the rebuilding of a pan Kasmirian kingdom like that of the great Karkotas, was the dream of Avantivarman's son. To fulfil this dream, be carried on incessant wars all around and to quote the Chronicler 'revived by his own judgment the tradition regarding the conquest of the world, which was falling in to oblivion (even) in learned works'. Samkaravarman first of all conquered Darvabhisara, the hilly tract on the south-west, which stretches

from the Ph Pantsal range towards the plains of Punjab. Next he advanced against Prthvicandra, ruler of Trigarta, the present Kangra, who is said to have approached the king in order to offer homage, but afterwards fled in terror. As the king of Kasmira is seen to have left the eastern theatre immediately and to turn his arms against the Gurjara territory, it seems he did not obtain any material success in the hills east of the Ravi. Prthvicandra's name does not find a place in the genealogical list of Katoch *rajas*, who had ruled Kangra from a remote period. But Candra is the last name ending of all the members of Katoch family and Kalhana's Prthvicandra may well be a historical figure.

The Gurjara territory, whose name is preserved in the modern town-name Gujrat, comprised the upper portion of the flat doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers south of Darvabhisara, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east. Alakhana, the king of Gurjara, is said to have saved his kingdom by ceding the Takkaland to Samkaravarman. The Takka territory probably indicated a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Chenab.

The following king, whose power is said to have been curbed by Samkaravarman is Bhoja. His identity with Pratihara Bhoja 'has been frequently assumed, but cannot be proved.'

According to Kalhana, Lalliya Sahi, who was placed between the Darads and the Turuskas was a supporter of Alakhana. It is said that he was not received into service by Samkaravarman as the latter wanted to remove him from his sovereign position. Apparently, the king's expedition against Lalliya did not bear much fruit. The title Sahi and the fact of his capital being at Udabhandapura dearly points out Lalliya to be a Sahi king of Kabul. Probably he is to be identified with Kallar, the founder of the Hindu Sahi dynasty of Und,

mentioned in the account of Alberuni.[44]

The expensive wars of Samkaravarman drained the treasury, with the result that at the end of his campaign, he was compelled to undertake all sorts of measures for raising taxes. 'Certain new imposts which the king introduced and the collection of which was assigned to special revenue officers, seem to have weighed particularly heavy on temple endowments and priestly corporations. Equally oppressive for the cultivators were the excessive demands made for forced labour. Samkaravarman seems to have organized them on a systematic basis and to have employed them also as a means for fiscal extortion. Used chiefly for transport purposes *(rudhabharodhi)*, this system of 'Beggar' has remained a characteristic feature of Kasmirian administration up to modern days. Kalhana describes with much bitterness the baneful effects of this regime which favoured only the rapacions tribe of officials (Kayastha) and left men of learning unprovided with emoluments'.

Towards the end of his reign Samkaravarman led an expedition towards the Indus, through the Baramula defile to avenge the death of his *Dvaradhipa* at Viranaka in the Vitasta valley, below the gate of Baramala. After destroying Viranaka, he conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Indus and received the homage of their kings, who submitted to him. On his march back through Urasa, the present Hazara district, there was a fight with the local people, in which the king was fatally wounded and ultimately succumbed to his injuries. The death of the king was kept secret until the troops had in safety reached the Bolyasaka in their own territory. This definite indication of the frontier line, coupled with Kalhana's silence about the king's achievements in the north and east, shows clearly that in spite of his best efforts,

Samkaravarman could not extend the kingdom of Kasmira beyond the boundaries of the valley proper.

Samkaravarman's attempt to build up a pan Kasmirian empire like that of the Karkotas met with a failure; but that was not so much due to his own faults, as to the changed circumstances. The small valley of Kasmira, famine-stricken, over-flooded by rivers and impoverished through previous misrules of the later Karkotas, could hardly compete with the growing power of the Sahis of Udabhandapura or with the mighty Pratiharas of north India. The earlier Karkota success was mainly due to the Chinese aid. But when Samkarsvarman came to the arena, he was without ally and to continue his policy of expansion single handed, he taxed the resources of his kingdom utmost, to lead her at last to an economic crisis, from which she could not recover for many years to come.

According to the contents of a drama called *Agamadambara* written by Jayanta Bhatta, a contemporary of Samkaravarman, the king had another name, Yasovarman. The electrum coins of the Karkota type, with the legend *Yasovarma*, therefore, may possibly be attributed to him.[45] The name Samkaravarman, however, appears on the copper issues of the monarch. The copper coin-type, which imitated the previous Toramana type, came to be a popular one and was copied by the subsequent rulers almost without break up to the advent of Sahamera.

The political history of Kasmira after Samkara-varman's death is a sordid tale of jealousy, intrigue and intestine conflicts. Presence of a number of claimants for the throne and their rivalry prevented the proper working of the government. The impotency of the authority was fully exploited by the Tantrins who in their close military organisation resembled the Praetorian guards of Rome and abused their strength in

the same shameless manner. The pretenders of the throne were anxious to purchase their favour, and no sooner had one succeeded in winning them over than it was snatched away by another who had paid a higher price for it. Nothing was considered too high for the price of the crown and to attain it, to quote the words of a former chief minister of the valley, kings squandered their revenues, queens bartered their honour, the son intrigued against his father, and the father set assassins upon his offspring; all lost their sense of truth and dignity for the acquisition, howsoever temporary, of the fatal reward'. At last an energetic prince, with the help of the Damaras, succeeded in annihilating the Tantrins, who had so long held the crown as a pawn, but with this act of the monarch, the country passed only from one trouble to another, for the Damaras, as we would shortly see, proved to be no less a menace to the stable Government than the Tantrins.

The political events that followed the death of Samkaravarman may be summed up as follows. Gopalavarman, a minor son of Samkaravarman succeeded the latter and reigned for two years (A.D. 902-904) under the guardianship of his mother Sugandha. During this period the minister Prabhakaradeva, who according to Kalhana was the widow queen's paramour, led a victorious expedition against the seat of Sahi power at Und. He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Sahi upon Toramana, Lalliya's son and gave him the new name Kamaluka. Kamaluka may be identified with Kamalu of Alberuni, the Hindu Sahi prince of Udabhandapura.[46] Lalliya, as we have already noted, was possibly Kallar of Alberuni. According to Alberuni, between Kallar and Kamalu appears Samand.[47] (Samanta) who may well be the 'rebellious Sahi' in defeating whom Kamaluka was aided by a Kasmirian force.

After Gopalavarman's death Samkata, a supposititious son

of Samkaravarman was raised to the throne; but he died after ten days. Sugandha then assumed the royal power herself (A.D. 904). During her reign, we hear for the first time of the Tantrins and the Ekangas. The Tantrins were a body of foot soldiers who might have derived their designation from their tribal name Tantri and owned their close organisation to ethnic affinities. We have compared them with the Praetorian guards of Rome. According to the Chronicler, in the reign of Sugandha they 'had formed a confederacy and were strong enough to punish or favour the rulers of this land'. The exact meaning of the term Ekanga cannot be explained. But the Ekangas too appear to have been a body organized in military fashion, who might be employed chiefly for police duties. They have been compared with the Pattan Nizamats of Kasmira, a regiment employed until a century ago to support the civil authorities. Like the Tantrins they had also assumed considerable power and had become by the tenth century a potent force in the body politic of Kasmira. Sugandha carried on her administration for two years 'relying on the Ekangas and through the goodwill of the Tantrins'. But on the question of succession, she came in conflict with the Tantrins. While she supported the claim of Nirjitavarman, nick named Pangu, a grandson of Saravarman, the half brother of Avantivarman, the Tantrins backed Partha, ten year old son of Nirjitavarman, whom by an open rebellion they placed on the throne (A.D. 906). Sugandha retired for the time being but with the Ekanga assistance made a bid for the throne in 914. In the conflict that followed, the Tantrins came out victorious. The Ekanga power was shattered on the battlefield. The queen was taken prisoner and was ultimately put to death.

From the moment of Partha's accession, it was his father Nirjitavarman who became the actual ruler of the valley. But

to keep up his position, he had to pay large bribes to the Tantrins. In the exactions by which the Tantrins enriched themselves they were helped by two ministers Samkaravardhana and Sambhuvardhana, who consequently rose to prominence. In 917-18, a serious famine visited the valley which carried away a considerable part of the population. But in this great calamity, the ministers and the Tantrins amassed large fortunes; by selling stores of rice at higher prices.

In the year 921; Partha was deposed by the Tantrins who placed Nirjitavarman formally on the throne. But the latter died after two years, and his son Cakravarman, a child, was kept on the throne under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother. A few years later a revolution of the Tantrins, deposed Cakravarman and placed his half-brother Suravarman I in his place. As the new king could not pay the desired sums of money to the Tantrins, he was replaced by Partha. But the promise of still greater bribe led the Tantrins to depose him and raise once again Cakravarman to the throne. Cakravarman too had to leave the throne since he failed to fulfil the promise. The soldiery next sold the throne to Sambhuvardhana.

Sambhuvardhana could not long wield the scepter. The Damaras, the landed aristocracy of the land, seem to have suffered considerably at the rise of the military confederacy. With their assistance, Cakravarman came to meet the Tantrins and defeated the latter completely in a pitched battle. Sambhuvardhana was captured and assassinated. The year 936 marked Cakravarman's renewed assumption of sovereignty.

Great things were expected from a prince who would relieve the valley from the much-dreaded soldiery. But Cakravarman's reign did not differ materially from that of his predecessors. He indulged in vile cruelties and excesses. His reign saw a predominance of the Dombas in the court and in

the palace. Ultimately a conspiracy of the Damaras put an end to his life and rule (937 A.D.).

The king who followed was Unmattavanti, another son of Partha. He surpassed his predecessor or anybody else in cruelties and gross licentious acts. His minister Parvagupta was planning to capture the crown and advised the monarch to kill his relatives. The king acted accordingly and killed his own father and other near ones with great delight. The valley must have sighed a great relief when he died in the year 939.

Saravarman II, a supposititious son, whom Unmattavanti had nominated as his heir, was next crowned. But before the child king's position could be consolidated, the commander-in-chief Kamalvardhana, with the purpose of seizing the throne for himself, came forward with a strong army. He fought with the combined forces of the Damaras and the Ekangas and completely defeated them. The boy king fled. But at this moment, the general made a mistake by not capturing the throne immediately. He left the issue to be determined by a council of Brahmanas with the hope that they would select him. But his plans were upset when the assembly opined for Yasaskara, a son of Prabhakaradeva, the notorious paramour of queen Sugandha.

Yasaskara came to the throne in 939 A.D. and ruled for nine years. His reign witnessed a recovery from many of the ills of the previous periods. Order was brought out of the chaos, anarchy was supplanted by a strong rule and justice replaced tyranny. The royal officers had formerly 'plundered everything'. Now the only course left for them was 'to look after cultivation'. It is said that' the foot soldiers found their end through him', which probably means that he took strong measures to suppress the Tantrins. Some stories of his judicial wisdom related by Kalhana. Illustrate his 'skill in the inter-

pretation of legal contracts'. They have a curious historical look and may be trustworthy.

Besides Other endowments Yasaskara built a *matha* for the students of Aryadesa 'who were devoting themselves to the acquisition of knowledge'. Aryadesa probably denotes north India and the king's donation for students coming from Aryadesa and residing in Kasmira is significant as it reveals some intimate cultural contact existing between the happy valley and the plains of India in the tenth century. In the latter part of his reign, Yasaskarais said to have mixed freely with the Dombas and other lower classes which was not welcome to the upper section. To this period he is also alleged to have amassed illegal fortunes through his city prefects.

At the approach of death, Yasaskara nominated Varnata, the son of his paternal grand uncle Ramadeva as his heir. But the latter incurred his displeasure by foolish acts as a result of which the crown finally fell upon Samgramadeva, a minor son of Yasaskara.

Samgramadeva held the scepter for a few months only (948-949 A.D.). Parvagupta, the minister, was scheming for the throne since the days of Unmattavanti. Now he set himself assiduously for the purpose. First he put his rivals out of the way and then, in a stormy night, when the king's guards were away, by a sudden coup seized the royal power and killed the child king.

Parvagupta rose from lowly environments; his grand-father Abhinava was a clerk. He displayed ability and energy in administering the country and enforced obedience even from his strong adversaries, the malevolent princes, Ekangas, chiefs, ministers, officers and Tantrins. But he oppressed the people by fiscal exactions. After a short reign, Parvagupta died with dropsy in 950 A.D.

Ksemagupta succeeded his father. He was a man of gross licentious character and attended upon by evil-conducted favourites, kept himself engrossed in the vices of dice, liquor and women. His only notable act was the suppression of Samgrama, a ring leader of the unruly Damaras.

Ksemagupta married Didda, the daughter of Simharaja, king of Lohara and the daughter's daughter of the Sahi king Bhimapala. The marriage had important consequences upon the foreign policy of Kasmira. It linked her up with Lohara and after Didda's death, the Lohara family continued to exercise sway over both the territories. The Sahi influence upon the court of Kasmira from this time onwards comes to be more and more evident. During Ksemagupta's reign, Bhima Sahi erected a temple of Bhima Kesava in the adoptivc country of Ins grand daughter and this bespeaks the Sahi king's intimate relation with the valley.

A wilful and domineering lady, queen Didda herself exercised immense influence over Ksemagupta. So much so that the latter came to be known by the humiliating nickname Diddaksema. There are coins with the legend *Di-ksemaguptade (va)* written upon them.[48] The reasons which led the monarch to associate his consort's name with his own arc not known. But it is plain enough that this peculiar method adopted by him is in itself sufficient to account for the use of the nickname. Seized by *luta* disease, Ksemagupta died in 958.

After Ksemagupta, the kingdom passed to his son Abhimanyu II. As he was a minor, the real authority was exercised by the regent mother Didda. The early years of her regency were full of troubles and dangers. The minister Phalguna had incurred her wrath by giving his daughter to Ksemagupta. So she compelled him to retire. When she tried to rid herself in the same way of two *grandees* Mahiman and

Patala, grandsons of Parvagupta, they raised a great rebellion. The defeat was averted by a wise distribution of bribes among the followers of the rebel brothers and a conciliation was reached. Yasodhara, a chief support of the rebels was raised by the queen to the position of commander-in-chief. But as he gave evidence of his merit by defeating Thakkana, a Sahi prince, he aroused the queen's suspicion. When Didda tried to send him to exile, Yasodhara and his friends were driven to rebellion. For sometime, the queen was put in a difficult position and her palace was besieged. But the support of the minister Naravahana and the Ekanga forces ultimately saved her. She took a terrible vengeance by executing all the captured rebels and exterminated their families.

The suppression of the rebellion was followed by a corresponding ascendancy of the minister Naravahana. He was raised to the position of *Rajanaka* and the queen, for sometime, remained all attention to him. Then a treasurer succeeded in arousing suspicions in her mind against him. She came under the impression that the minister-general was trying to usurp the throne, ill-treated him and her insult ultimately drove her faithful adherent to commit suicide. Didda's next attempt to kill Damara Samgrama's sons resulted in a rebellion. To tackle the situation, the queen recalled Phalguna, who probably brought a reconciliation between the two parties.

In the yeas' 972 A.D. Abhimanyu died and the crown passed to *his* son Nandigupta. The death, of her son appears to have softened the heart of Didda for the time being. Kalhana assigns to this period the foundation of a number of temples and other buildings intended to perpetuate her own memory and that of her deceased son. One of the buildings, a convent, is said to have been created by her as a resort for the people of Madhyadesa, Lata and Saudotra. Madhyadesa seems

to refer to midland India roughly corresponding to present Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Lap is central and southern Gujrat but Saudotra can not be placed.

The devotional mood of the queen, aroused in her heart at the death of her son, did not last for more than a year. She killed Nandigupta by 'witchcraft'. Another grandson, Tribhuvana (Gupta), who succeeded, was disposed of in the same manner (975 A.D.). There remained now her last grandson Bhimagupta. During the five years of his nominal rule, Phalguna, who appears to have held a check upon the will of Didda, died and the queen 'became with her open misdeeds and excesses a hundredfold terrifying like a personified tusker in rut who has torn off his face covering'. Tunga, a Khasa from the hills of Parnotsa, who had entered Kasmira and had secured a job in the royal service as bearer of despatches captivated her heart and openly became her paramour. When after a stay of four or five years in the royal palace the mind of the boy king Bhimagupta began to mature, he perceived that the administration of the kingdom as well as the ways of his grandmother were shameful. So he tried for a reform. In this attempt, the prince became an object of suspicion to the fickle minded queen who sent him to prison and finally put him to death by various tortures.

After Bhimagupta's death in 980 A.D., Didda herself ascended the throne. She raised Tunga to the position of the prime minister and started to rule as a thorough autocrat. Discontented factions tried to oust Tunga. Prince Vigraharaja of Lohara, son of Didda's brother was invited to invade Kasmira from outside, while Brahmanas of the important *agraharas* were induced to enter upon a hunger strike against Tunga. But Didda very cunningly won over the Bdihmanas by a distribution of bribes. In the absence of any support from

within, Vigraharaja's plan of invasion failed and he was compelled to retreat. Another attempt was made by him subsequently to stir up rebellion among the Kasmira Brahmanas. But by that time Tunga had secured his position. He suppressed the rebellion with a strong hand. Tunga also proved his ability in distant campaigns. Prthvipala, the king of Rajapuri defied the authority of Kasmira which invited an invasion by the latter. Tunga was at the head of the expeditionary force and completely defeated Prthvipala and compelled him to agree to pay tribute. During the last years of Didda, there was a Damara rising. Tunga 'annihilated the pest of the Damaras with the courage of a lion'. In the year 1003, Didda died. But before her death she transmitted her crown to Samgramaraja, son of her brother Udayaraja, the ruler of Lohara. Thus the rule over Kasmira passed peacefully to a new dynasty.

In spite of gross immorality and other defects of character, queen Didda's claim of being one of the ablest sovereigns of Kasmira can hardly be denied. She came to the throne at a critical time. The greedy Brahmanas, unscrupulous landholders, conspiring, nobles and even adventurers outside the realm had all joined their hands time and again to oust her. By bribing some, and cajoling others, by wise and discriminating distribution of wealth and favour, she drove the enemy, she won the opponents, she steered clear the ship of State through storms and stresses. The lust for power led her to undertake at times acts of great cruelty, but that does not indicate that she was lacking in humanity. When once she fell into grief at the death of her son, her repentance found expression in the numberless shrines and monasteries, she erected.

Samgramaraja appears to have been a prudent but weak ruler. During the early part of his reign Tunga's power was unchecked, inspite of a rebellion raised against him by the

Brahmanas and. the temple *purohitas*. But growing age made the prime minister deficient in intellect and his appointment of rapacious officials who cut off the maintenance allowances of the gods, cows, Brahmanas, the orphans and the guests and oppressed the people by various fiscal exactions, made him unpopular.

While the priests and nobles were fighting in Kasmira and the royal officers teasing the citizens, a new drama was being enacted on the northwestern fringes of India. Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Ghazni, was carrying on operations against the kingdoms situated on the northwestern parts of India and one after another, they were crumbling before his onslaught. The most formidable barrier towards the progress of the Ghaznavids was the kingdom of the Sahis. Several attempts were made by the followers of Islam to conquer it. According to Muslim chroniclers, during the early years of the 11th century, Sultan Mahmud inflicted crushing defeats upon the Hindu Princes of Udabhanda.[49] Sometime about 1013 when the Sahi ruler Trilocanapala was reigning, an attack was made upon his territory by the Sultan. According to Nizamuddin and Firishta, Mahmud's first attack, on this occasion, was directed against the fort of Nandana situated among the Balnath hills[50] which fell after some resistance. Trilocanapala then retired to Kasmira and most probably, at this stage, he sought assistance from Samgramaraja. In compliance with the Sahi request, Tunga was sent by the king of Kasmira at the head of a large army to help the Sahi king against Hammira, i.e., Mahmud of Ghazni. Blinded by his desire for battle, Tunga did not listen to the words of the Sahi ruler who advised him to post his army on the scrap of a hill awaiting the approach of the enemy. He committed a blunder by crossing the river Tausi and giving open fight to the Turks. When attacked by the Turks,

the army of Tunga fled from the field in utter confusion and with the remnant of his shattered forces he retreated to Kasmira.

On his return to Kasmira, Tunga was held in disgrace for his failure. The conspirators who had formerly raised a rebellion, now found an opportunity to oust him. The king who was 'weak and indolent by nature' had disliked Tunga since the days of his accession. Instigated by secret letters from his brother Vigraharaja, he now began to look for an opportunity to remove him. Finally when one day the unsuspected Tunga, invited by the king, attended his royal palace with a small number of followers, he was killed by the king's agents.

The most notable event in the history of Kasmira after the death of Tunga was the attempt made by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni to conquer the valley. Though the pages of the *Rajatarangini* are silent regarding the details of this attempted invasion, an echo of it seems to be preserved incidentally in a passage where Kalhana speaks of the cowardly conduct of the sons of low-born Candramukha 'who on being sent by the king to fight with the Turuskas, like Tunga, turned, fled and again came back to their own country'. For a detailed description of the Muslim campaign, we shall have to turn to the Muslim historians. According to Nizamuddin, Mahmud did not rest content with the laurels he won on the banks of Tausi, but at once entered the secluded valley and carried away much booty in the shape of prisoners of war, and gold, and after converting many infidels to Islam, and laying the foundations of Islam, went back to Ghazni.'[51] Sultan's invasion of Kasmira was repeated in the year 406 A.H., i.e., in 1015 A.D. According to Firishta, 'Mahmud in the year A.H. 406 revisited Kasmira with his army in order to punish some rebellious chiefs, and to besiege some forts, which he had not

reduced in his former expedition. The first of these forts was Lohkot, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated the Sultan's utmost efforts; for having failed to reduce it during the summer, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprise and return to Ghazni. On his route, he was misled by his guides, and falling into extensive morasses, from which for several days he could not extricate his army, many of his troops perished, and he failed in all the en terprise of this campaign'.[52] Firishta's story receives confirmation from Nizamuddin's account.[53] In A.D. 1021 Mahmud again invaded Kasmira. But after laying siege to the fort of Lohkot for about a month, he found it impregnable and then he left the project and returned to Lahore.[54] Muslim attempt to conquer Kasmira in the early eleventh century thus ended in a failure.

Samgramaraja died in 1028 A.D. after giving his son Hariraja the bath of coronation. Hariraja died after a reign of twentytwo days. According to Kalhalfa Hariraja's mother Srilekha, who lived the life of a wanton woman brought the end of her son by the use of witchcraft and after her son's death tried to seize the crown for herself. But Srilekha's dans were frustrated by the Ekanga forces who raised her son Avanta to the throne. Taking advantage of the dissensions in the royal family, Vigraharaja, a brother of Samgramarslja and ruler of Lohara arrived at the capital of Kasmira with a large force to drive out Arianta. But the troops of Kasmira routed him totally along with his followers.

The early years of Ananta's reign were marked by the growing influence of the Sahi princes in the court who were now driven mvay from Und by the Muslim invaders and took shelter in the valley. One of these *Sahiputras*, Rudrapala, married the daughter of the Jalamdhara king, Inducandra, while king

Ananta was induced to marry Suryamati, a younger daughter of the same king.

A dangerous rising of the pamaras, headed by the rebel commander-in-chief Tribhuvana was successfully defeated by Ananta. An invasion of the Darad ruler Acalamangala and seven *mleccha* kings allied with him was similarly defeated with the help of the Sahi prince Ruclrapala. The *mleccha* allies of the Darad king apparently denote the tribal leaders living on the frontier of Kasmira who had been probably converted to Islam by this time. King Ananta's victory over the Darads and their associates is also alluded to by Bilhana in *Vikramankadeva carita.* He, however, uses the term Saka in place of *mleccha* which may indicate that the *mleccha or* converted Muslim princes were originally Sakas.[55]

When Rudrapala and other Sahi princes had died, Ananta came more and mare under the influence of his queen Suryamati. He was plunging headlong in debts due to his extravagant habits. His relief came when the queen took full charge of the royal affairs, Haladhara, a Vaisya, rose to the position of prime minister through her favour. He proved to be a successful administrator and secured for a time peace and prosperity for the valley.

Peace at home and a well-filled treasury led Ananta to undertake some expeditions around the valley. In Campa he uprooted the Raj a Sala and placed on the throne a new monarch. Sala seems to be identical with king Salavahanadeva mentioned in the Camba copper plate and the new king raised to the throne was probably the latter's son, Somavarman. If Bilhana is to be believed in addition to Campa, his supremacy was acknowledged by the hill states of Darvabhisara, Trigarta and Bhartula.[56] But Ananta's campaigns lacked any definite plan and those against the hill states of Urasa and VaJlapura

ended in failure and ignominious retreat.

In the year 1063, Ananta at his queen's advice abdicated the throne in favour of his son Kalasa, Shortly after, the royal couple came to regret their step, and the diplomatic Haladhara induced the old king to assume his authority once marc. The royal authority came to be exercised as usual by Ananta while Kalasa remained king only by name. At this time Ksitiraja, the king of Lohara, resigned worldly affairs and as he disliked his own son, he bestowed his kingdom upon Utkarsa, the second son of Kalasa. This succession was an event of great consequence, destined to bring the hill state of Lahara and the kingdom of Kasmira under one rule, on Utkarsa's succession to Kasmira,

The arrangement of the joint rule over Kasmira went on smoothly for sometime But as time passed Kalasa grew more and mcJre licentious in habits. A fracas in which the prince openly suffered disgrace brought a rupture in the relation of the father and the son, Ananra, who was going to imprison his son, was prevented by his queen who induced him to retire to the sacred *tirtha* of Vijaydvara, along with troops and royal treasures. For a time, Kalasa felt some difficulty for the loss of wealth. But he soon recovered by organizing the administration in an effective manner. He then started to collect forces to attack the old king. Ananta, who was still powerful enough to deprive Kalasa of the realm, again allowed himself to be carried away by his queen who persuaded him not to takc any action against Kalasa. Ananta contented himself by summoning to Vijayesavra Kalasa's eldest son Harp whom he wanted to impose on the State.

After a brief period of truce, Kalasa resumed hostilities with his father. Realising that the chief strength of Ananta lay in his riches, he set fire to Vijaydvara. The old king lost

everything and when the son was on the point of sending him to exile, after a violent altercation with his wife, he committed suicide (A.D. 1081).

The picture of Kalasa, which Kalhana presents before us after the death of king Ananta, is quite different from his previous one. Henceforward he appears as an enlightened monarch, devoted solely in loving kindness and care to the people. He made reconciliation with Harsa and brought him to Srinagara. He also set himself assiduously in reorganizing the financial administration in which he received considerable help from his able officers. Prosperity at home permitted Kalasa to send expeditions in the neighbouring regions. Seizing the opportunity of a civil war in Rajapura between Samgramapala and his uncle Madanapala, he intervened in the affairs and established Kasmira's suzerainty over the hill statc. Urasa was ncxt invaded and a commander of the Kasmira army after crossing the river Krsna (Kisanganga) 'seized the Government, together with the heads of horses of its *raja* named Abhaya'. In the winter of the year 1087-88, there assembled in the court of Kalasa several kings owing allegiance to their Kasmirian overlord. These were Kirti, the chief of Baddhapura, Asata, the *raja* of Campa, Kalasa, the ruler of Valla pur a, Samgramapala, the chief of Rajapuri, Utkarsa, the ruler of Lohara, Sangata, the king of Urasa, Gambhirasiha, the chief of Kanda and Uttamarina, the ruler of Kasthavata. Of the hill-chiefs, here enumerated, Kirti may be king Kirtissaja of Nilapura whose daughter was married by Kalasa. Asata, *raja* of Campa is the prince of the same name mentioned in the copper plates of Camba, who executed king Somavarmadeva. Against Kalasa, the king of Vallapura, Ananta led an unsuccessful expedition (ante p. 61). Samgramapala, the lord of Rajapuri was the son of Sahajapala

and the king of Kasmira reinstlted Samgrama to the throne of Rajapuri after defeating Madanapala, his rival claimant. Utkarsa was the second son of Kalasa, the king of Kasmira. Sarigata, Gambhirasiha and Uttamaraja can not be identified.

Prince Harsa could not pull on well long with his father and induced by some evil advice conspired to dethrone him. The conspiracy leaked out. Kalasa attempted to obtain from his son a repudiation of the plot but failing that ordered his arrest. It is said by Kalhana, that the conduct of his son had a telling effect on the character of Kalasa who reverted to his old licen tious life. Kalasa died in 1089 but before his death had passed the crown to his younger son Utkarsa.

Utkarsa continued the policy of his father regarding Harsa and kept him in a more guarded prison. But his general conduct alienated his followers and a plot was hatched against him by displeased princes like Vijayamalla and Jayaraja. With the help of the Damaras they defeated Utkarsa and besieged him at the royal palace. The object of the rebels was to release Harsa. This could very well have been foiled if Utkarsa had ordered his death, but he vacillated and afterwards released Harsa to reach a reconciliation with the rebel party. As soon as Haqa came out of confinement, he forcibly assumed the royal power and sent Utkarsa into prison, where the latter ended his life by his own hand. Utkarsa died at the age of twenty-four after a reign of a few days only.

Harsa came to the throne in 1089. The early years of his rule saw eminent success. He adopted a wise policy in retaining many of the ministers, officials and servants of his father's time and by his kind disposition, won their devotion. His court was veritably a centre of luxury and splendour. He introduced in the country many new fashions in dress and ornaments. His courtiers were gorgeously dressed and wore

earrings and head dresses which were so long used exclusively by the monarchs of Kasmira. Out of his love of Daksinatya, Harsa introduced some fashions of that territory in his own land. Kalhana says that Harsa adopted even the Karnata coin types in the coins of Kasmira and the gold coins of the king with the elephant type amply corroborate the poet's statement. Himself a poet and an admirer of fine arts and literature, Harsa was a *kalpavrksa* in his munificence towards the artists and litterateurs of his age. We find the Kasmirian poet Bilhana, who left Kasmira during the reign of Kalasa and lived in the court of the lord of Karnata, lamenting over the loss for his absence in the court of Harsa.

Successful in his home administration, Harsa tried to assert his authority in some of the adjoining mountains territories of Kasmira. Samgramapala of Rajapuri, at this time, for reasons not known to us, had turned hostile to Kasmira. Harsa despatched his faithful officer Kandarpa at the head of a garrison to fight with Samgrama. In the battle, which ensued, Kandarpa defeated the lord of Rajapuri and forced him to pay tribute. But then Harp at the advice of some evil parasites banished this heroic general.

Shortly after, conspirators began to hatch up plots to oust Harsa from the throne. General Vijayamalla, the brother of Harsa, had raised a rebellion against him in the early part of his reign but receiving no support from the Kasmiri ministers or soldiers, he had to flee to Darad country, where he died in an avalanche crash. Another brother of the Kasmirian king, Jayaraja by name and a relative named Dhammata, who were desirous of the throne started secret intrigues to kill Harsa. The plan was disclosed, before it could be given final effect to, and Harsa by an unique display of his diplomatic skill executed both the rebels. But the Kasmira monarch did not

rest there. He also massacred a number of his near relatives apprehending similar treason on their part. Among these hapless victims was Domba, the eldest son of Utkarsa.

The money spent on personal luxuries as well as upon foreign expeditions impoverished the royal treasury. Urgent necessity for money at last turned the liberal king into a cruel oppressor. Kalhana relates in detail the king's act of confiscation of temple properties. It may be noted here that Harsa not only annexed the treasures of the temple, but also appointed officers called *devotpatananayaka* to desecrate temples and then to overthrow the divine images which could be sold at their metal value. These anti-religious acts of Harsa earned for him the title of 'Turuska'. But the temple spoliation alone could not feed Harp's need for money. He also introduced new imposts and appointed special officers to raise taxes. Kalhana says that the king, in order to 'extort money through all sorts of prefects, appointed.....even a prefect of night soil'

From this time onwards, Harsa's career becomes a record of follies and misdeeds. Guided by evil counsellors he began to excel in all kinds of sins and crimes conceivable to man. He placed in his seraglio a large number of concubises but not satisfied with them, he held intercourse even with his near and dear relatives.

The foreign wars in which Harsa was engulfed about this time also ended in disaster. He led an expedition against Rajapuri but had to retreat owing to the treachery of his prefect of police, Sunna. He next attempted to capture the fort of Dugdhaghata from the Darads, but in the rainy night in which the siege was undertaken, he was seriously defeated at the hands of the enemies and had to return home with his followers. To crown the misfortunes, a serious flood caused a

famine in the valley in A.D. 1099 and that was followed by a plague which carried away a considerable part of the population.

A confusion followed these misfortunes in which even murders were freely committed on roads in open daylight and daring burglars stole golden cups even from the king's apartment.

The landed aristocracy of the valley, the Damaras, fully utilized the anarchical condition of the days. Lying secure in their own demesnes, they scoured the king's territory for plunder. Furious at their behaviour, Harsa took serious steps to crush them. He carried a relentless persecution of the Damaras who at this time appear to have mostly belonged to the tribal division of the Lavanyas when the Damaras of the Madavarajya were exterminated to a great extent, the king turned his attention upon Kramarajya, where, however, the Damaras gave some effective organized opposition.

At this stage, Harsa committed a grave blender which ultimately cost his throne and life. In the expedition of Dugdhaghata, two brothers and princes named Uccala and Sussala, descended from aside branch of the Lohara dynasty, had fought on Harsa's side and had given evidence of uncommon courage and heroism. Harsa suddenly began to suspect them as rival claimants to the throne and planned to murder them. Being aware of the evil intentions of the king, the princes fled but then joined by the Damaras and Khasikas entered Kasmira at the head of a powerful army. In the battle which followed, Harsa's officers betrayed him and the royal army was thoroughly crushed. The victorious army of Uccala and Sussala entered Srinagara and set fire to the royal palace. The palace was first burnt clown and then looted by the wild mob. Harsa's son Bhoja was murdered. The king himself left the city and took shelter in a beggar's hut, but he was hunted

down and slain cruelly.

Kalhana gives an elaborate account of Harsa's character. It appears that he was a learned person, a poet of some merit, a courageous soldier and a conscientious judge. But then his was a character composed of contradictory qualities like cruelty and kindness, authority and anarchy, liberality and greed and other apparently irreconcilable features. The excess with which all these qualities were displayed by the prince rightly leads some modern historian to find in his character' the unmistakable indications of an unsound mind'.

The chief underlying cause of the 'unsound mind' of the king lay in his inability to grasp the deeper causes underlying the problems of the time and his failure to cope with the changed circumstances. By a liberal distribution of wealth, he won over the feudatories and the officers. But when he found them betraying him, he grew furious arid his wrath found expression in inhuman cruel measures adopted towards them and to their families. He failed to appreciate that bribing was a very inactive measure to win the permanent allegiance of the subordinates, that the infidelity of his nobles lay deeper in their ambition to hold and control the royal power which again was spurred by their great wealth and power; they were also incited by similar examples of preceding reigns. Harsa took wild steps to crush the baron Damar'as but never contemplated a change in the land tenure system which fostered their growth. He indulged in foreign expeditions when the country was facing bankruptcy, perhaps under the impression that newly conquered land would add to the wealth of the State but never realized the consequences of a failure. His method of collecting ready money by taxing the people and confiscating the temple property was equally unwise. He should have paid more attention to the improvement

of methods and machineries of production which alone could yield the surplus wealth to meet the expensive budget of the State. His policy of raising money robbed the country of its reserved resources.

Harsa died in the year 1101 A.D., to be succeeded by the eldest of the rebel brothers, Uccala. Uccala's claim on the crown of the valley was not based upon the might of the sword alone. He was, through Jassaraja, Gunga and Malla, the fourth direct descendant of Kantiraja, the brother of Didda and uncle of king Samgramaraja of Kasmira.

The first duty before Uccala after his accession to the throne was to disarm his troublesome allies, the Damaras, who appeared to be a constant source of peril to the throne. Uccala succeeded, for the time being, to curb the power of the wild barons and for this purpose he used the weapons of force as well as diplomacy. Janakacandra, a powerful Damara chief, was destroyed by Uccala's display of Kautilyian cunning. Kaliya and other Damaras of Madavarajya who showed tendencies of playing against the king were immediately crushed. Sussala, the ambitious younger brother of Uccala, who looked upon the power of Kasmira king with envy was also removed. He was sent in charge of the kingdom of Lohara where he was allowed to rule in an independent capacity.

Freed from troubles, king Uccala next turned his attention to the task of reorganizing the internal administration of the land. He thoroughly overhauled the bureaucracy. The Kayastha officials of the valley who were found engrossed in corruption and dishonesty were punished or dismissed. By the strong steps taken against the dishonest official class, the king secured the attachment of the lower class people who constituted the bulk of the population. Like the enlightened

despots of the eighteenth century Europe, Uccala considered himself as the first servant of the State and devoted his whole energy to the service of his subjects. In times of famine, he sold grains to his people at cheap prices from the royal granary and thus saved them from utter ruin. He administered justice in an even-handed manner and like Caliph Haroun al Rashid of Bagdad moved among his subjects incognito, hearing their grievances, and redressing them as far as practicable.

But then there was a dark side too in the king's character. Kalhana relates that the monarch was jealous of noble bearing, courage, intelligence, power of endurance and youth in other persons. He was also haughty by nature and was in the habit of publicly discussing the shortcomings of the lineage, daily life, and personal appearance etc. of his followers. The inevitable result of all these acts was the alienation of his dependants and in times of crisis the king was deprived of their natural fidelity and affection.

Sometime after Uccala had consolidated his position in the valley, his brother Sussala made an attack on him to deprive him of the kingdom. The attack, however, was repulsed with the help of the Damara leader Gargacandra and Sussala was forced to take his refuge in the land of Darads, from where, after many troubles he regained his own territory, the kingdom of Lohara. A reconciliation between two brothers took place at the birth of Jayasimha, the son of Sussala in 1105-06 A.D.

A second attempt to oust Uccala was made by the Damara leader Bhimadeva who, with the assistance of the Darad king, raised a person named Bhoja, son of the late Kasmirian king Kalasa as a pretender to the throne. By a display of his unique diplomacy, Decala divided the Daiad ruler Jagaddala from

the Damara rebels. The enemy, thus weakened, was easily defeated and Bhoja was put to death. Bhoja's son Bhiksacara at first remained in Dccala's custody. Afterwards he aroused suspicions in the king's mind. But before the boy could be put to death, he fled to the court of Paramara king Naravarman (*c.* 1097-1111 A.D.) and grew up there only to become a dangerous enemy of the valley later on.

While Decal a was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of the Damaras and having the pretenders put out of the way, a serious conspiracy was silently gaining momentum, beside the throne. The engineers of the plot were the city prefect Chudda and his brother Radda who claimed descent from Yasaskara. They were supported by many officials, who were either dismissed or insulted by the arrogant king. One night, when Uccala, unarmed as he was, was proceeding from his palace to the seraglio, be was attacked by the conspirators and was killed without mercy (1111 AD.).

After Uccala's death, Radda assumed the title of Sankharaja and took the royal scepter in his blood stained hands. But he was soon removed from his position by a powerful Damara chief, Gargacandra by name. Garga raised on the throne of Kasmira a step brother of Dccala, Salhana by name. Salhana had not the slightest capacity to rule. A worthless prince, he was merely a puppet in the hands of the Damara chief. At the news of his brother's death, Sussala had made an attempt to seize the crown of the valley. But attacked by Damara Gargacandra, he was forced to flee to his own kingdom. Sometime after, at the connivance of the king, the rival *grandee* attacked Gargacandra. They failed to do any harm to Garga. Garga was much dissatisfied at the king's conduct. He invited Sussala to take charge of Kasmira. Sussala accepted the offer and entered Kasmira with his army. The people, who were tired of the imbecile Salhana, at once

received him with welcome. After a brief struggle, Salhana was captured and Sussala ascended the throne in 112 A.D.The character of the new monarch was in many respects similar to that of his elder brother. HE kept his sword unsheathed from the ever-present apprehension of treason. He systematically hunted and destroyed the family of the traitors against his brothers. Realizing the wickedness of the people, he bore himself with relentlessness. In his hot temper also, he resembled his elder-brother and could not bear effrontery on the part of his dependants. But inspite of so much similarity, Sussala was unlike his elder brother, a softhearted king. Unlike his brother he also was not in the habit of using harsh words to honourable men. But a great defect of Sussala's character was his miserliness and greed for money, which hastened his downfall.

Sussala had to face obstacles from the very moment of his accession. Firstly, Damara Gargacandra refused to surrender Uccala's son to him and over this matter a quarrel arose between the two. The Damara chief was at last persuaded to submit but with much difficulty. In the second place there was the problem of the deposed king Salhana and Lothana. By confining both of them at the fort of Lohara, the king consolidated his position in that territory. He also formed an alliance with the neighbouring kings of Kalinjara and Rajapuri. Now Sussala was attacked by some Damaras of Devasarasa in which the king escaped death only by sheer luck. The next important incident in his reign was Sahasramangala and other exiled nobles' attempt to overthrow him by invading his kingdom. The king's vigilance, however, frustrated their plan. This was followed by the rise of a formidable enemy in the person of Bhiksacara, the grandson of Harsa. It has been mentioned already that the youth was brought up in the court

of the Paramara king Naravarman. Joined by the tribal hill-chiefs of Campa, Vartula, Vallapura, Trigarta and Babbapura, he planned to invade Kasmira. But their internal dissensions prevented Bhiksacara from undertaking any active step for the time being.

The next few years were utilized by Sussala in the re-organization of the administrative machinery and especially of the finance. He appointed Kayastha Gauraka to the position of *sarvadhikara* who, with the help of other Kayastha officials, soon filled the royal treasury. But by extorting the people, the king and his officers became unpopular.

The Damara chief Gargacandra had long been a source of trouble. Sometime about 1117 A.D., Sussala found an opportunity to suppress him. He skillfully played Mallakostha, who had long been an enemy of Garga, against him. Exasperated after long struggle, Gargacandra surrendered himself to the king, was imprisoned together with his family and afterwards put to death (1118 A.D.).

In the very year of 1118 A.D. Sussala started an expedition against Somapala, chief of Rajapuri, who had invited Bhiksacara at his court. The Kasmirian king kept Rajapuri under occupation for seven months continuously but failed to place their Somapala's rival and brother Nagapala whose cause he had taken up. The military expedition into Rajapuri involved huge expenditure as a result of which Sussala had to further increase the taxes of his kingdom. He dismissed Gauraka, whom he considered unsuitable for the purpose.

The new taxation alienated his subjects while his policy of sending into the castle of Lohara masses of gold, having made them into gold ingots, irritated the nobility. In the year 1120, there was a rebellion of the Damaras headed by Prthvihara in east Kasmira. Within a short time, it was followed by the

rising of the Damaras in other parts of the valley. Sussala failed to check his opponents and when they threatened the capital, he retaliated by killing the Damaras who were held as hostages. Then Mallakestha brought the pretender Bhiksacara into Kasmira, which gave the revolt an unity of purpose and a well defined object. On the other hand, the foolish acts and rude conduct of Sussal'a exasperated his officers and the commander-in-chief Tilaka ultimately joined the enemy. The Damaras, headed by Bhiksacara, surrounded the capital. There were troubles within the capital too, for in this critical hour the Brahmana assemblies, holding fasts, tried to gain control over the king's affairs, while treachery was rampant among the royal troops. Sussala held his capital against heavy odds with great courage. But at last, a rebellion among the king's own army, forced Sussala to leave the city. On the 6th of the dark half of Margasiras, in 1120 A.D., the king reached Lohara with a handful of followers. The forces which were left behind in the capital, joined Bhiksacara, who entered triumphant into Srinagara.

As Bhiksacara did not know much about governing a State, the real royal power came to rest with his *sarvadhikara* Bimba. Moreover the king soon developed a taste for new women and rich dishes. The quarrel among the leading Damaras further worsened the condition of the State.

The political troubles had their effects on the country's economy, and trade and business came to a standstill. At this time Bhiksacara sent his *sarvadhikara* at the head of an army to conquer Lohara. In this venture he received the assistance of the chief of Rajapuri, Somapala and was also joined by a Turuska force under Sallara Vismaya, who, as some scholars suggest, was probably a Muslim chief from the lower Punjab hills.[57] But the combined force which met Sussala on the banks of the Vitola, near Parnotsa was totally routed. Many of

the defeated Kasmirian soldiers now joined Sussala who marched towards Srinagara to reconquer his kingdom. The rule of Bhiksacara had been disliked by the people who wanted Sussala's revival. The Damara leaders Mallakostha and Janakacandra now joined him. The Brahmana corporation expressed their faith in Sussala. Under everything favourable, Sussala returned back to Srinagara unopposed on Jyaistha 1121. Bhiksacara and Prthvihara left the capital and took refuge with Somapala, the chief of Rajapuri.

At the village Pusyananad.a (modern Pusiana), at the southern foot of the Pir Pantsal, Bhiksacara placed himself firmly and from that strategic position began to raid upon the valley incessantly with his Damara friends. Once Bhiksacara and Prthvihara proceeded to the Madavarajya and after defeating the army of the Kasmirian king at Vijaydvara burnt the shrine of Visnu Cakradhara. But Bhiksacara could not take full advantage of his success, for the Damaras, seeing his great prowess, grew jealous of him and' became lukewarm in his cause'. Sussala did not hesitate to take advantage of the dissensions in Bhiksacara's flank. He coerced a section of the Damaras into submission and forced the pretender to return back to Pusyananada. The respite, which he got, Sussala utilized in freeing himself from the hands of those Kasmirian ministers and generals who had been traitors by sending them to imprisonment or exile and appointed foreigners in those places.

In the early part of 1122 A.D. Bhiksacara, together with Ptrhvihara and other associates. entered Kasmira. In the struggles which followed Sussala initially obtained some success but then suffered heavily while crossing the Gambhira river on his way of retreat to Srinagara. Bereft of the larger portion of his army, Sussala was again besieged in Srinagra. But with the help of twenty or thirty Rajputs, from Vallapura, Campa

and the adjoining hill regions, he held his own. With the help of these mercenaries Sussala also gained a victory over the pretender near the Gopadri hill, south east of the city (1122 A.D.). The victory did not crush the power of the Damaias but gave Sussala once more the chance to take the offensive.

In the spring of the following year, Bhiksacara again succeeded in beseiging Srinagara and ceaseless encounters followed round the capital. In one of these engagements, the Damara's set fire to the capital. The fire put to ashss a great part of the city and destroyed food crops of Srinagara. All the passages being blocked by the Damaras, Sussala could not bring foodstuff from the country side and the capital underwent a terrible famine which carried away a large number of the populace.

To make matters worse for Sussala, his beloved queen Meghamabjari died at this time. In a dejected state of mind Sussala decided to abdicate the throne, and crowned his eldest son Jayasimha on the 1st of Asadha, 1123. But sometime after, Sussala changed his mind. He kept the reins of the government in his own hand and began to distrust his son whom he even placed under surveillance. Outwardly, Jayasimha's coronation, however, helped him to pacify the country. He succeeded in subduing the Damaras at Kalyanapura who had no unity of purpose and Bhiksacara was forced to flee to Samala (modern Hamal district).

In order to get rid of Bhiksacara, Sussala now made a plan to kill him secretly. A plot was hatched with Utpala, an agent of Damara Tikka and it was decided that Utpala would kill Bhiksacara at Tikka's seat and then Tikka. But Utpala, who was Tikka's man, disclosed the matter to his master and formed conspiracy to kill the king in turn. Sussala used to hold secret conferences with Utpala. On one occasion, Utpala

and his associates found the king unguarded and killed him brutally (1128).

The first few days of Jayasirnha's reign were extremely critical. There was every possibility that the rebels would attack him. But Jayasirnha was lucky that they did not take any offensive. Jayasirnha, however, in order to have the support of the powerful men of the kingdom, including those who had once joined their hands with the enemy, declared a general amnesty. Damara Pancacandra, son of Gargacandra came to his help. Bhiksacara, in his attempt to enter the capital was repulsed by Pancacandra shortly after. When Sujjii and other trusty officials of Sussala cutting their way through the Damara hosts joined Jayasimha, the king's position became more assured.

Bhiksacara's next at tack was repulsed by Sujji on the bank of the Gambhira. This was followed by other minor successes of the royal army. Jayasimha's principal adviser Laksmaka won over most of the Damara chiefs by a judicious use of bribes. At last Bhiksacara had to leave Kasmira. As Jayasimha's treaty with Somapala of Rajapuri prevented him from having a refuge in Rajapuri, he stopped at his father-in-law's house on the banks of the Candrabhaga.

Jayasirnha seems to have been a statesman of high calibre. He realized that his position could be maintained only if the turbulent Damaras could be kept in check. The royal authority was not strong enough to suppress these feudal lords. So he adopted the strategy of playing one powerful Damara against another. Though this policy failed to suppress the Damaras permanently, it at least gave Jayasimha relief for the time being. The same policy of divide and rule, Jayasimha employed in case of his officers.

From the south, Bhiksacara soon made an attempt to invade the valley. Thanks to the diplomacy of Laksmaka and

measures adopted by Sujji, the pretender was obliged to retire. Sujji, however, was soon exiled and then driven into the enemy's camp through the jealousy of Laksmaka. Bhiksacara, longing for the throne, once more made a bid. But the cunning diplomacy of Laksmaka succeeded in isolating him at the castle of Banasala, where he was captured and killed (A.D. 1130).

Bhiksacara, the arch enemy of his family was killed, but troubles were brewing for Jayasimha in other quarters. Lothana, the brother of ex-king Salhana, fled from the jail with the help of some traitor royal officers and took possession of Lohara, Jayasimha soon sent a large army under Laksmaka to recapture Lohara. The royal army blockaded the hill-fortress but without any result. On the other hand, the summer fever of the neighbouring hilly regions carried away a large number of Jayasirnha's men, Laksmaka was compelled to return, but on the way he was attacked by Sujji and Somapala, The royal army was completely defeated and Laksmaka was taken prisoner. Subsequently, Laksmaka was ransomed at a cost of thirty-six lakhs and resumed his former position as Jayasimha's chief minister.

For sometime, Jayasirnha's diplomacy to recapture Lohara did not meet with any success. Lothana, with Sujji as his chief minister, succeeded in maintaining his position. But then a plot in the Lohara court deprived Lothana of his crown and raised Mallarjuna, a son of Sussala and a half brother of Jayasirnha to the throne (A.D. 1131). The new prince was weak, extravagant and profligate, Jayasimha sent all army against him and forced him to pay tribute, Mallarjuna's position in Lohara was further worsened by constant attack of his uncle Lothana, who had secured the support of Damara Kosthesvara, This Damara chief in fact became the master of the neighbouring regions of Lohara and made Mallarjuna's hold on the castle

precarious. At this time by a masterful display of his diplomacy, Jayasimha won over Kosthesvara. Sujji, whom the Kasmirian monarch had already received to his side, he sent to retake Lohara. Mallarjuna left the castle and fled to Rajapuri from where he was ultimately captured in 1135 A.D. soon after, Kosthesvara too was secured and sent to prison. Sujji, who had recaptured Lohara, did not also enjoy the king's favour for a long time. His growing discontentment led Jayasimha to kill him treacherously in A.D. 1133 together with his relatives and followers.

The next few years of Jayasimha's reign were peaceful. During this period, the king restored many temples and *mathas* which were ruined in course of civil war. Numerous pious foundations were also made by ministers and others. In foreign affairs, Kasmira seems to have maintained a friendly relation with other kingdoms at this time.

The death of Yasodhara, the king of the Darads and the consequent troubles which followed in that country after his death, gave Jayasimha an opportunity to extend his influence in that region. But his efforts did not meet with any conspicuous success. On the other hand Viddasiha, who had set himself as the ruler of the Darads stirred up a rising against the Kasmirian monarch. Encouraged by the Darads, Lothana appeared as a pretender of the throne in 1143 A.D. He was aided by the Damara lord Alamkaracakra, Bhoja, a son of Salhana and Vigraharaja, a half brother of Jayasimha. But shortly, the rebels were surrounded in the castle of Sirahsila by Jayasimha's army and Alamkaracakra had to surrender Lothana and Vigraharaja in the royal hands (1144 A.D.). Bhoja, however, soon managed to escape and appeared as a pretender for the throne. He obtained the help of the Darad ruler Viggasiha and some Muslims of the upper Indus valley. Some powerful Damaras like Trillaka and Catuska

further joined Bhoja. The invading army of Bhoja, led by Rajavadana, a discontented officer of Jayasimha, approached from the north, claiming the crown. About this time Prthvihara, led another Damara army from the south. With great difficulty Jayasimha averted this danger. His commander Rilhana defeated Lothaka in the south, while the strong stand taken by Sasthacandra on the north broke the morale of the combined Darmaa, Darad, *mlecchа* and Turuska force who took to flight. But peace was not restored till 1145 A.D. when through the mediation of queen Kalhanika Bhoja surrendered and the Damara rising collapsed. Jayasimha seems to have enjoyed the few remaining years which are dealt in Kalhana's work i.e. from 1145 to 1149-50 A.D. in. peace. During this period he crowned his eldest son Gulhana as the ruler of Lohara. Kalhana refers to the several pious foundations of this period made by the king. The king's example was followed by various religious foundations made by ministers and other members of the royal family. According to Jonaraja, Jayasimha lived upto 1154-55 A.D. During the last five years of his reign, he undertook a successful expedition against a Muslim ruler (Yavana Turuska), who, however, can not be identified.[58]

Jonaraja has furnished us with an outline of the political history of the remaining period of the Hindu rule which extended up to 1338 A.D. Paramanuka, the son of Jayasimha, succeeded his father on the throne. With the assistance of two officers Prayaga and Janaka, he filled up his royal treasury. Neither did he protect his subjects, nor did he undertake any expedition abroad. When he died in 1164-65 A.D. his son Vantideva succeeded him (in the Calcutta edition the name is written as Varttideva). Vantideva ruled for seven years.[59] With his death, the second Lohara dynasty came to its end.

The following king Vuppadeva (Vopyadeva according to

the Calcutta edition) was elected by the citizens in the absence of a suitable heir. He was a stupid king and proved himself an idiot by adopting various foolish measures. After his death in *c.* 1180 A.D. his brother Jassaka wore the crown. He was a greater fool than his brother. At this time, taking advantage of the weakness of the royal authority,' the Damara Lavanyas established themselves as real rulers of the land. King Jassaka was a mere tool in their hands. In fact Jassaka did not wish to have on him the weight of the kingdom but he was retained on the throne by the Lavanyas only because that gave them a golden opportunity to exploit the land as they liked. During Jassaka's reign, two Brahmana brothers Ksuksa and Bhima by name assumed great powers and refrained from capturing the crown only due to their fear of the feudal lords. Jassaka ruled for 18 years and 10 days, that is, up to 1198 A.D. and the throne then passed to his son Jagadeva.[60] Jagadva was an enlightened despot, who tried to improve the bureaucracy. This naturally incited the wrath of the Kayastha officers who succeeded in driving the king out of the valley. Jagadeva regained his throne with the help of his faithful minister Gunakara-rahula. Soon after, he was poisoned by Padma, the 'lord of the gate' and breathed his last after a regin of 14 years 6 months and 3 days i.e. some time about 1212-13 of the Christian era.[61]

Rajadeva, the son of Jagadeva, fled to Kasthavasa after his father's death. But the enemies of Padma brought him back to the valley. A civil war followed, but when Rajadeva, was besieged in the fort of Salhana, Padma suddenly died at the hands of a Candala. Rajadeva was then anointed as the king of the valley by the Bhagas, who were probably the members of the Brahmana corporation. The royal authority, however, was seriously threatened by the Lavanyas. One of them, Baladhyacandra, lord of Lohara, occupied half of Srinagara and the king failed to subjugate him. Rajadeva seems to have

died in 1235 A.D.[62]

The throne of Kasmira then passed to Rajadeva's son Samgramadeva. Samgrama was a powerful prince. He was determined to crush the power of the feudal lords. But the treachery of his brother Surya who was also in the pest of the *pratinidhi,* frustrated his attempts. When the evil intentions of Surya 'were disclosed before the monarch, Surya fled from Slinagara and raised a rebellion against the king with the help of Damara Candra of Lohara and Damara Tunga of Samala. In the encounter which followed, Tunga was defeated and Candra was caught and killed. During this civil war the sons and relatives of Brahmana Kalhana whom the king began to fear as snakes had become very powerful. (It is not unlikely, that Kalhana referred to here, is the same as the author of the *Rajatarangini).* Samgrama was anxious to retain his kingdom, but all his attempts failed and he was obliged to retire to the shelter of the peaceful lord of Rajapuri. When the king was in Rajapuri, total anarchy was let loose in the kingdom and 'the samaras began to suck the very life blood of the people'. For how many years such an anarchy continued, we do not know. But Samgrama at last succeeded in defeating his enemies and regained his throne. He, however, did not kill the sons of Kalhana because they were Brahmanas and was in turn killed by them in about 1252 A.D. Saka, a learned poet, is said to have composed a poem with Samgrama as its hero, which was, like the necklace, an ornament of the learned. But the work has not survived.[63]

Ramadeva, the son and successor of Samgrama, executed the murderers of his father. He seems to have been an able administrator and appears to have governed the kingdom successfully with the help of Prthviraja. His queen Samudra built a *matha* at Srinagara, on the banks of the Vitasta which was marked with her name, whereas the king repaired the

Visnu temple of Utpalapura. As the king had no issue, he adopted a Brahmana boy of Bhisyakapura as his son. Ramadeva died in *c.* 1273 A.D.[64]

Laksmanadeva, the adopted son, who now became the king of the valley was a learned man, 'filled with the love of the six branches of learning'. But he lacked the vigour and courage of a Ksatriya and was defeated and killed by a Turuska i.e. a Turk Muhammadan named Kajjala in *c.* 1286 A.D.[65]

A period of anarchy probably followed Laksmana's death. Out of this chaotic conditions appear two figures, Samgramacandra, the lord of Lohara and Simhadeva whom Abul Fazal describes as the 'Chief of Labdar of Daksinapara'.[66] Simhadeva declared himself king of Kasmira but so long as Samgrama lived, his power was confined to the Ledari valley. It was only after the death of Sarmgramacandra, that Simhadeva was able to occupy the kingdom of Kasmira which at this time had shrunk to its former size.

The master of the valley, Simhadeva made a large number of religious foundations. The early years of his reign seem to have been comparatively successful but gradually under the influence of evil company, he became devoid of his belief in God. An intrigue with his nurse's daughter ultimately resulted in the loss of his life (*c.* 1301 A.D.).[67]

After Simhadeva's death, his brother Suhadeva became king. The new monarch was a powerful man, and with the help of a person named Kamasuha established his authority over the whole of Kasmira. Even such distant regions as the borders Pancagahvara i.e. Panjgabbar situated on the cast of Rajapuri, came under his rule.[68] In the year 1313 a Muslim adventurer called Sahamera migrated to Kasmira along with his family, probably from the Punjab side. The Muslim immigrant was admitted in the king's service. A brave

soldier, he was probably of much service so the king in extending his authority throughout the length and breadth of Kasmira.[69] The king' son Babruvahana founded a town called Garbhapura and for the time being the valley seems to have been prosperous.

The latter part of Suhadeva's reign, however, was disturbed by two foreign invasions. The first of these was led by Duluca whom Jonaraja describes as the *Camupati* of the *Cakravarli* Karmasena.[70] Stein seems to be correct in his assumption that Duluca entered Kasmira by the Jo-ji-la pass.[71] Among the soldiers of Duluca Jonaraja mentions Mleccha, Turuska an Tajika troops.[72] It is probable that Duluca was a Turk Muhammadan. According to Abul Fazal Dalju i.e. Duluca was the chief commander of the king of Kandahar.[73]

Duluca had a large army with him which numbered 60,000 according to Jonaraja. The king Suhadeva tried to satisfy Duluca by giving a subsidy and for this purpose imposed taxes on all castes. There were agitations against his cowardly conduct by some sections of the people and Brahmanas protested against his policy by holding fast. Nonetheless, the king collected money, and tried to buy the invader off. But his policy of appeasement failed, for Duluca accepted the money, but still ravaged the country. He followed a policy of plunder, arson, murder and loot of which there are few parallels in history. At last when the winter came, afraid of the excessive cold of Kasmira, he left it by a good military road carrying with him all able-bodied men as slaves. Whatever prosperity Kasmira had enjoyed during the early years of Suhadeva's reign, was destroyed by Duluca's invasion. 'Kasmira became almost like a region before the creation, a vast field with a few men, without food and full of grass'.[74]

The invasion of Duluca was followed by a second

invasion led by Bhautta Raicana. In all probability he entered Kasmira by the same route through which Duluca came i.e. by the Jo-ji-la pass. If Jonaraja is to be believed one Ramacandra, a relative of king Suhadeva gave a stiff opposition to Rincana's army, but he was ultimately treacherously killed by the latter at the fort of Lahara. After Ramacandra's death, Rincana seized the royal power and married his wife (or as some say his daughter) Kotadevi.

Rincana retained the Muslim adventurer Sahamera in his service and with his help gradually established his own authority over the whole length and breadth of the valley. By creating division among the Lavanyas, he succeeded in bringing these turbulent barons under his control. Abul Fazal says that through intimacy of association with Sahamera he accepted the religion of Islam. This is probably true as Jonaraja says that this Bhautta prince was willing to embrace Saivism of the Hindus, but was refused of such favour as he happened to be an outcaste. Perhaps after this rejection by the Hindus, he embraced Islam.

The career of Rincana abruptly came to a close in c. 1323 A.D. when, one day, he was suddenly attacked by several conspirators and ultimately succumbed to his injuries.[75]

In the royal genealogy of Ladakh, *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, the name of the fourteenth king appears as Rin-Cen.[76] He is generally placed by scholars between 1320 and 1350 A.D. Now Rincana, the name of the invader of Kasmira, is nothing but a Sanskrit transcription of the Tibetan word Rin-Cen. Jonaraja distinctly mentions the invader as Bhotta i.e., Tibetan. His date falls between 1320-23 A.D. Hence it is extremely likely that the two names represent the one and the same person. It is true that Rin-Cen, as a king of Ladakh, does not agree with Jonaraja's description of him as a prince fleeing from his country as a result of his bloody vengeance

on his father's murderers. Moreover, in Jonaraja's chronicle, there is no indication that Rincana entered Kasmira from Ladakh rather than from Baltistan or Purig or Zansker or Guge. Under these circumstances, a reasonable theory would be that though Rincana did not actually rule over Ladakh, the name was inserted by the compilers of the royal genealogy in order to glorify their own kings by showing that they ruled over Kasmira also. It is interesting to note in this connection that the very title *rGyal-bu* (king's son) which is attributed to Rin-Cen in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* is not suitable to a king, though it may fit perfectly a fugitive prince.

When Rincana died, he left his son Haidara and queen Kotadevi to the care of Sahamera. Sahamera did not crown the prince who was a minor, but invited and enthroned Udayanadeva, a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty who was living in distant Gandhara.

The new king not only occupied the throne but also married Kotadevi, the queen of Rincana. He also had an heir by her. But Udayanadeva was a weak person. He kept himself engaged mostly in the performance of his religious duties and the queen Kotadevi dominated him. Taking advantage of the impotence of the royal authority, the turbulent Lavanyas molested the kingdom time and again.

It seems that Sahamera, from his very entry into the valley, had an eye upon the throne. After Rincana's death, he no doubt found an opportunity to capture the royal authority but probably did not consider himself powerful enough for the action. Now, when he found the royal authority weak, he followed a systematic policy for strengthening his position. By establishing matrimonial alliance with the lord of the gates and other nobles, he won them over. Many of the nobles were also brought to his side by wise distribution of subsidy while many were coerced into neutrality. He kept the king and the

queen mum by threatening to raise Haidara on the throne.

In 1338 A.D. Udayana died. Queen Kotadevi assumed the control of the kingdom and ascended the throne herself. She received the assistance of the Lavanyas and for the time being everything seemed to go in her favour.

But the triumph of Kotadevi was temporary. Sahamera succeeded to oust and then to kill Bhatta Bhiksana, the Brahmana minister of Kotadevi. The queen was in a position to bring the murderer before her and to inflict punishment over him but the counsels of her own men, who undoubtedly had been bribed by Sahamera, dissuaded her from taking the action. The opportunity, thus allowed to slip away, never came again. Once, while the queen had been to Jayapidapura, Sahamera seized the capital. Kotadevi who was now besieged in the fort of Jayapura had to surrender on the explicit condition that she would share her bed and throne with Sahamera. After a day's married life she was imprisoned along with her two sons where they ultimately died and Sahamera ascended the throne under the title of Śultan Shamsud-din (1338 A.D.).[77]

REFERENCES

1. Herodotus, 1, 152 and 177.
2. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 69, 111-12.
3. To avoid frequent references to the *Rajatarangini*, I have not referred to it altogether in the footnotes of the Chapter dealing with the political background. Where the source of information is not stated, it should be presumed to be Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.
4. *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 150.
5. *Mahavansa*, XII, 3.
6. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 155.

7. *Milindapanha* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 82, 83.
8. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 44..
9. The story of Mihirakula's expedition against Ceylon is apparently baseless.
10. *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 167.
11. *C. I. I.*, III (ed. Fleet), pp. 146, 147.
12. Kalhana's description of Mihirakula as a devotee of Siva receives confirmation from the ruler's coins which contain in them theriomorphic representation of Siva; *I.M. C.*, I, pl. XXV, 5.
13. It is not clear which king Harsa is referred to here. Harsavardhana of Kanauj is not known to have held his sway, over Kasmira.
14. Surastra is undoubtedly the ancient name of a portion of the Gujrat peninsula. But little reliance can be placed on the story of Pravarasena's conquest of the territory.
15. According to Stein it was the title or family name of the rulers of some country or tribe; possibly this was the name of some tribe of Turkish origin such as the conquests of the Great and Little Yue-tchi as well as of the White Huns brought into the regions of the upper Indus and thus within the sphere of Kasmira politics; *R. T.* (Eng. tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 98.
16. *J.A.* (1895), VI, pp. 341 sq.
17. The initial date of the coin, apart from other considerations is suggested by the character of the scripts in the coin legend.
18. For a detailed discussion on the point, see *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, pp. 152 sqq.
19. Cunningham, *Coins* of *Mediaeval India*, p. 43.
20. *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), ii, p. 261.
21. *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 108.
22. An unique silver coin with the legend *Deva Sahi Khingila* may be attributed to him (Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. VII, II). The type of this coin is unmistakably that of an Ephthalite ruler.
23. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, III and pl. VII, 12. For a detailed discussion on various types of alleged Kasmirian Hun coins see Stein, R. T. (Eng. tr.), AI, 383, foot notes.

24. Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India.*, p. 43.
25. A Remusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat.*, i, p. 212.
26. Klaproth, *Memoires relatifs a l' Asie*, ii, pp 275 sq.
27. A Remusat, *Nouv..Melange Asiat.*, i, pp. 196 sq.
28. The Sri Pratapa types of Kasmirian coins have been recovered from the village of Bhitaware, Dt. Fyzabad, from Banda District, UP., from Rajghat and Sarnath, in the confines of Banaras, from Monghyr district and from the ancient University site of Nalanda, Dt. Patna; *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 843; *J.A.S.B., N.S.*, 1928, p. 6-9; *J.N.S.I.*, X part I, pp. 30-32; *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* (Eastern Circle), 1919-20, p. 48.
29. R. T., IV, 134. For different interpretations of the passage see Cunningham, *C.M.I*, p. 40; Stein, *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), foot notes on Book IV, verse 134; Prayagdayal, Treasure Trove find of 16, 448 electron coins in Banda District of the United Province, *J.A.S.B., N.S.*, XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9.
30. *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 178.
31. Stein, *Notes on Ou-kong*, pp. 19 sq.
32. D. R. Sahni, Pre Muhammadan Monuments of Kashmir, *Ann. Rep.* A.S.I., 1915-16, pp. 59, 61.
33. A Remusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat.*, I, pp.196 sq.
34. See ref. no. 15. The identification of Mummuni with the title of the Khalifs, Amir-ul-Mumenim is suggested by Levi *(J.A.*, 1895, p. 351) based on a glossator's version that Mummuni means Mumen Khan. But as Stein points out this glossator is quite modern and is wholly unreliable; *R.T.* (Eng. tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 137.
35. *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 175 sq.
36. Stein, Archaeological Notes from the Hindukush Region, *J.R.A.S.*, 1944, pp. 5 sqq.
37. Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan* (tr. Hitti and Murgotten), ii, pp. 230-31.
38. A. S. Altekar, The Attribution of Sri-ja-Pratapa Coins, *J.N.S.I.*, X, part I (1948), pp. 34 sqq.
39. A Remusat, *Nouv.Melanges Asiat.*, i, pp. 196 sq.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Tsu Chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 144.

42. *J.A.S.B.*, 1913, pp. 197-204.
43. N. N. Das Gupta, On the date of Lalitaditya Muktapida, *Indian Culture*, XIV, 1947, pp. 11-19.
44. *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 13.
45. S. C. Ray, The identity of the Yasovarman of some mediaeval coins, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVII, No. I, 1951, pp. 1-3.
46. *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 13.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Cunningham, *C.M.I.*, pl. IV, 11.
49. For a connected account of Sultan Mahmud's raids see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History* of *Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 84 sq.
50. Balnath hills apparently indicate Salt Range. See *Babur-nama* (Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge), Vol. II, p. 452. Babur places the hills at a distance of 5 marches from the Indus.
51. *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), Bibliotheca India, p. 8.
52. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (tr. Briggs), I, pp. 54, 55.
53. *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), p. 9.
54. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (tr. Briggs), I, p. 65; *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr.B. Dey), p. 13..
55. *Vikramankadevacarita* (ed. Buhler), XVIII, 33 sq.
56. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 35-38.
57. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 165.
58. *Dvitiya Rajatarangini* (ed. Peterson), 26, 27.
59. *Ibid.*, 49.
60. *Ibid.*, 59-67.
61. *Ibid.*, 68-78.
62. *Ibid.*, 79-91.
63. *Ibid.*, 92-108.
64. *Ibid.*, 109-117.
65. *Ibid.*, 118-122.
66. *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret, first ed), p. 378.
67. *Dvitiya Rajatarangini* (ed. Peterson), 123-37.
68. *Ibid.*, 138-142.

69. *Dvitiya Rajatarangini* (ed. Peterson), 143-146.
70. *Ibid.*, 141.
71. Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), II, p. 408.
72. *Dvitiya Rajatarangini* (ed. Peterson), 170.
73. *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret, 2nd. ed.), p. 381.
74. *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, 152-155.
75. *Ibid.*, 155 sq.
76. L. Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, pp. 112, 113.
77. *Dvitiya Rajatarangini* (ed. Peterson), 255-352.

CHAPTER -III

SOCIETY

CASTE SYSTEM

THERE are few sources which throw any considerable light on the type and character of the caste system, as it was in vogue in ancient Kasmira. Early works like the *Nilamatapurana*, the *Kuttanimata Kavya*, and several of the works of the poet Ksemendra mention the Brahmanas distinctly as the uppermost caste of the valley, but they do not say much about the other existing social orders. The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, however, testifies to the existence of several low castes among the population, besides the Brahmanas. These were the Nisadas, the Kiratas, the Kaivartas, the Dombas, the Svapakas and the Candalas. It may be argued that the *Rajatarangini*, written much later on (i.e., in the 12th century A.D.) while relating the history of the former ages, depicts more or less the social picture of the contemporary time. But since the formation of a particular caste generally takes a long time, it may be presumed that the various types of castes mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* existed in Kasmira from it much earlier period.

The Brahmanas were definitely the more privileged and honoured caste in the country. The origin of the Brahmanism in the valley of Kasmira is unknown, but there is clear evidence to show that many of the noted Brahmana inhabitants of the valley were descendants of the Brahmanas of other parts of India.[1] Probably, there had been several large-scale immigrations of the Brahmanas from the plains of India into the valley of Kasmira from a remote period.[2] The descendants of these immigrants seem to have composed the bulk of the Brahmana poplution of Kasmira.

The occupations adopted by the Brahmanas were varied; some of them were ministers and councillors of the State. Thus the Brahmana Mitrasarman was samdhivigrhika of king Lalitaditya.[3] Jayapida's minister was Devasarman and his chief councillor was Damodoragupta.[4] Bhatta Phalguna was the minister of king Ksemagupta and queen Didda[5] and so on. The military career also was open to the Brahmanas. Bhujanga, the son of a Brahmana *samanta* fought with Samgramaraja.[6] Kalhana's father Canpaka was the *dvarapati* of Harsa.[7] Ajjaka, a Brahmana minister of Salhana died in the battlefield while fighting against Sussala.[8] Kalyanaraja was a Brahmana soldier well versed in military exercises.[9] But though many Brahmanas adopted political and military vocations, the majority of them appears to have earned their livelihood by performing religious rites, by serving as priests, and by teaching the sacred texts. Besides the sacrificial fees, donations were frequently made to the Brahmanas.[10] The *Nilamatapurana* prescribes gifts to Brahmanas on almost every religious ceremony and conceders such gifts to acquire religious merit for the donor. Kalhana often mentions that *agrahars* were donated by the king to the Brahmanas.[11] The priests of the temples had other sources of income. They enjoyed the revenue of the

villages which belonged to the temples.[12] Sometimes they sold flowers, incense, etc., to persons going to the temples for worship (*R.T,V*, 168). Ksemendra furnishes us with the interesting information that at times sweets, etc., which were offered to the god of the temple were resold to the public by the priests.[13]

Among other castes, Nisadas appear to be the aboriginal tribes of Kasmira. They occupied a very low position in the social life of the community. In Sanskrit, the term Nisada is generally applied to indicate persons who earn their livelihood by hunting and fishing. A passage from the *Rajatarangini* points out that the term included also the boatmen of the valley.[14]

The Kiratas, another low caste, according to Kalhana, lived in the forest and destroyed wild animals by raising jungle-fires and constructing traps.[15] Their livelihood seems to have been very much similar to that of the Nisadas, as referred to in ancient literature. But the relation between the Nisadas of Kasmira and the Kiratas of that country is unknown. Racially the Kiratas mentioned in Sanskrit literature belonged to the Tibeto-Burman group. Perhaps the Kiratas of Kasmira were neighbouring hill tribes of the Tibetan regions who were looked upon with much contempt in the society. Hiuen Tsang refers to a class of lowborn people named *Ki-lo-to* who lived in Kasmira from a very early time and were opposed to the Bauddhas.[16] Scholars haw failed to identify the *Ki-lo-to* people.[17] Phonetically the Chinese *Ki-lo-to* may be transcribed into Sanskrit as Kirata. The Kiratas mentioned by Kalhana may be identical with the *Ki-lo*-to people referred to by Chinese pilgrim.

The Dombas have been frequently mentioned by Kalhana as a caste of menials. Sometimes they are associated with

Candalas.[18] What exactly was their profession, we do not know. In one passage of the *Rajatarangini* they are described as huntsmen.[19] Kalhan.a makes mention of Domba singers and from the stories recorded by him it seems that the Dombas were generally good musicians and earned their livelihood by singing and dancing.[20]Alberuni, while speaking of the contemporary castes of northern India, mentions the Dombas who were lute-players and singers.[21] Had they any connection with the Dombas of Kasmira? The Dombas have been sometimes mentioned by Kalhana also as Svapakas[22] which literally means 'dog-cooker'. It is interesting to note that in the 11th century A.D., Alberuni saw among the low castes of northern India a particular community called Badhatou who actually ate the flesh of dogs.[23] The Dombas were invariably hated as a despised low caste in Kasmira and were treated with much contempt.

Another low caste of the valley were the Candalas. They seem to have been fierce and cruel fighters. Some of the Candalas served as royal bodyguards or as watchmen.[24] Probably some were also freely engaged in the king's army, though we are not absolutely certain on the point.[25] Kalhana says that on several occasions the Candalas were engaged as agents by selfish conspirators for assassinating their political rivals.[26] According to Alberuni, the Candalas of north India practised as a trade, killing of persons when they were sentenced to death by the judicial authority[27] and this goes to support the statement made by Kalhana regarding the nature of livelihood pursued by the Candalas. Both Alberuni and Kalhana point out that the Candalas were universally hated.[28]

Though the conception of the population as consisting of four traditional castes was not altogether unknown[29], there was no such caste as Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra in early

Kasmira. In other parts of India there were various intermediary castes between the Brahmanas on the one hand and the lower castes on the other. Curiously enough, so far as we can ascertain, such intermediate castes did never exist in the valley.

CLASSES OF PEOPLE

The people of ancient Kasmira, as we have already seen, were divided into several castes mainly based upon racial and religious factors. From the socio-economic standpoint, they could be also grouped into various classes, according to the professions adopted by them.

The economic structure of the ancient Kasmirian society was undoubtedly built upon the principle of private ownership of wealth. But the persons who were responsible for the production of wealth were not alone to enjoy it, there were people who shared it more or less and this depended upon the system of the distribution of wealth. The three principal methods of production were agriculture, industry and trade. Bút though the tillers of the soil produced cróps, the duty of proper distribution rested upon the royal authority or feudal aristocrats, who were owners of the lands, whereas the industry and the trade were in the hands of the merchants. Of course, the State had always a hand in the system of the distribution of wealth, but in ancient Kasmira, the State's interference in private enterprise or property was very little.

Naturally, based on the three principal methods of production, three distinct classes of people with several subdivisions of their own evolved. But there were other classes who neither took any direct part in the production of wealth nor did anything towards its distribution, but who served the society in such various occupational capacities as the military, the clerical, the cultural, the menial, dc. It should not be presumed that all these classes with their subdivisions

emerged at the same time; their growth must have been gradual and complex with the rapid expansion of the race.

Our knowledge regarding the occupational classes who comprised the society of early Kasmira is indeed very meagre; there is not a single source which may be utilized for tracing their history to a period prior to the 7th century A.D., a date from which, thanks to Ksemendra and Kalhana, the account of at least the principal classes of people, can be followed with tolerable accuracy.

Connected with land, was the class of people called Damara, who, as noted in the chapter on political history, played an important role in the history of early Kasmira. The exact meaning of the term Damara is not known. Ksemendra Kalhana, Jonaraja and Srivara no doubt frequently refer to the term but never try to explain its meaning. 'Wilson opined that the Damaras were a fierce tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kasmira,[30] whereas in St. Petersburg dictionary,[31] their original etymological meaning was given as 'riotous, rebel'. The term, as used in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* shows, that the Damaras were not necessarily a tribe inhabiting the mountains north of Kasmira, neither were they always riotous. In fact, they appear to be territorial lords or feudal landowners.

Kalhana's first reference to the Damaras occurs in the fourth book of the *Rajatarangini* where among the curious political maxims set forth by Lalitaditya, it is said that his successors should not leave with the cultivators of the land more than what is necessary for their bare sustenance and the tillage of their fields. Because, 'if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Damaras, and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king'.[32] It is quite clear from this passage that agriculturist

villagers, after the acquisition of considerable lands, were transformed into powerful Damaras.

In spite of Lalitaditya's warning, the growth and development of rural economy and the weakness of the royal authority gradually led to the rise of the Damaras, who became a very powerful element in the State. During the reign of Avantivarman, one of these Damaras, Dhanva, is said to have usurped the villages endowed to the temple of Bhutesvara. This man, who owed his predominance to the patronage of the minister Sura, flatly neglected his summons. At last, when he appeared before the minister, he made the earth shake with the tramp of his host of foot soldiers and did not bend his back'.[33]

About the middle of the 10th century A.D., the Damaras became so powerful that they began to interfere in questions of royal succession. King Cakravarman, when driven away by the Tantrins, took shelter in the house of Damara Samgrama and with the help of Samgrama and other Damaras succeeded in recovering his throne. But afterwards, when Cakravarman alienated the Damaras, he was ultimately murdered by these turbulant feudal chiefs.[34]

In the latter part of the fifth book as well as in the sixth book of the *Rajatarangini,* the mention of the Damaras is comparatively few. But at the same time Kalhana testifies that kings and queens like Unmattvanti and Didda had to take recourse to coercive measures for suppressing the Damaras[35] which clearly proves the increasing influence of the Damaras in those periods.

With the accession of the Lohara house, the Damaras appear in their fullest power. From not onwards, they interfered in all-important political affairs of the State. A king could remain upon the throne if the Damaras so wished. The

aspirants to the throne were eager to have 1 heir support, whereas the monarch in power had to keep them always engaged lest they should grow more powerful. In the internecine conflict between king Ananta and his son Kalasa and between Utkarsa and Harsa, the Damaras took the side of one or the other and the final issue of the conflict depended mostly on their support.[36] Ananta, Kalasa and Harsa, particularly the last named monarch, tried their utmost to curb the powers of these feudal barons by sending armies against them as well as by other stratagems.[37] But every attempt failed. In fact, the measures adopted by Harsa, instead of diminishing the powers of the Damaras, further alienated them. It was with the help of the Damaras, that Uccala and Sussala drove out Harsa and occupied the throne of Kasmira.

By the 12th century A.D., the Damaras had become very powerful. They had enormous wealth, a large army, and strongholds in many important places of the valley.[38] In fact they had' usurped all power in the land except in the immediate vicinity of the capital and the places occupied by the royal troops'. One of the Damara chieftains, Gargacandra became a king-maker in the true sense of the term. In the conflict between the pretender Bhiksacara on the one hand and Sussala and Jayasimba on the other, that party alone could expect a victory which bad powerfull Damaras at its back. 'The fortified residences of the Damaras frequently mentioned by the term *upavesana,* were, like the castles of mediaeval feudal lords, centres of territorial divisions in which, though they may have often comprised not more than a couple of villages, the king's authority could assert itself only by armed force at times of unrest. This condition of things continued for centuries after Kalhana's time, far into

the Muhammadan period, and its recollection still lingers in the tradition of the agricultural population of Kasmira'.[39]

With the increase of wealth and political power, the Damaras obtained a higher status in the society. Though Kalhana looks upon them with contempt as 'robbers-resembling goblins' or 'more like cultivators though they carry arms', the marriage of the Damara girls with members of the royal' family or of Rajput princesses with Damara chiefs[40] clearly indicate their elevated social position. In Ksemendra's *Samsyamattka,* a Damara named Samarasimha appears as a wealthy, respectable and cultured citizen.[41]

The system of succession among the Damaras seems to have been hereditary. When a feudal lord died, his landed estates passed to his heir.[42] But apart from direct inheritance, the status of a Damara could also be achieved with the acquisition of lands and riches by other methods. A person named Jayyaka, the son of a householder, who had amassed fortune from revenue of land and selling victuals to far off regions, is said to have raised himself gradually, to the position of Damara *(Kramad damaratam agat).*[43]

The relation of a Damara with the king on the one hand and cultivating tenants on the other, cannot be traced clearly from the context of the *Rajatarangini.* Some of the Damaras are said to have obtained revenue from their land, apparently from their tenants.[44] But land revenue, though it was the principal one, was not the only source of their income. There were enterprising Damaras who accumulated wealth by trade and commerce.[45]

The Damaras did not belong to any particular tribe. Some of the Damaras have been called Lavanyas[46] and from this some scholars have presumed that all the Damaras belonged to a tribe living on the mountain north of Kasmira.[47] But the

Damaras were distributed all over Kasmira, mostly on the fertile areas like Nilasva, Holada, Samala etc.[48] and not on the mountains north of Kasmira only. Moreover, in the first six books of the *Rajatarangini*, the term Lavanya has never been applied to any Damara. It is thus evident that the two terms Lavanya and Damara are not synonymous, though it is seen that a large section of the Lavanya people attained the position of Damara during the reign of Harsa and afterwards. The origin of Lavanya tribe cannot be traced. Did they come originally from Lavana *parvata*, contiguous to the valley and ultimately settled in Kasmira?

The word Damara is not found ill the first three books of *Rajatarangini*. The term occurs for the first time in the fourth book and not very frequently up to the sixth book. But it is abundantly employed in books seven and eight. Whether the Damaras originated in the reign of Lalitaditya or existed even in an earlier period cannot be answered satisfactorily, so far as our information goes at present. But the paucity of the term Damara in the earlier books and its very frequent presence in the later sections of the *Rajatarangini*, most probably indicate that the class of feudal barons called Damaras came into existence not much earlier than the 8th century A.D. Their power and influence, which gradually increased, were not very great up to the 10th century A.D. But later on they became a very powerful class of nobility, a potent factor, always to be reckoned with.

What led to the rise and growth of the Damaras? It is sometimes said that the weakness of the royal authority and the constant wars of succession between the rival claimants to the throne were generally responsible for the rise and growth of these unruly people.[49] No doubt, the internecine conflicts for succession to the throne offered a golden opportunity to

the Damaras to increase and exert their power. But that alone cannot explain their spectacular rise, Powerful rulers like Avantivarman and Didda tried to suppress this unruly element in their kingdom when it had not yet gathered considerable strength, Others after them, like Ananta, Kalasa and Barsa employed full energy to root out these turbulent barons, but none met with success, Not that the royal authority was weak, but the economic structure of the society supported the existence of the Damara class and gave a strong impetus to their growth, Kasmira was a commercial centre during the reign of the Kusanas. When the overland trade routes had been opened through Central Asia, she probably served as an important trade emporium, but the commercial activities of the valley ebbed with the fall of the Kusanas and the rise of the Hunas ultimately closed the overland trade routes. Being a landlocked territory, henceforth Kasmira had to engage her whole attention solely on agriculture.. This greater importance attached to agriculture coupled with the existence of a particular land tenure system, in which the cultivator was a tenant to his feudal lords, seems to have served as the basis of an economic system in which the rise of a landed aristocracy was inevitable, Whatever little trade was carried on with the western neighbours after the Burp invasion had subsided, again came to an end with the rise of the Islam, Both Ou-kong and Alberuni testify to the closing of some of the existing trade routes.[50] With trade and commerce further curtailed, land became the principal source for wealth. Increase of the population and scarcity of culturable lands in the valley brought more and more pressure upon the existing agricultural lands. As there was increase in the population, and consequently less chance of their absorption in trade and commerce, the surplus people had to be employed in the cultivation of the soil. Land was thus sure to yield high

revenue and those, who did own them, became ultimately wealthy formidable Damaras.

Agriculture was adopted as the principal means of livelihood by the bulk of the Kasmiri people, Unfortunately, nothing is known regarding the exact condition of this cultivating class. Did they own lands? If they had no land, did they cultivate the lands of their feudal overlords. And if they did, what remuneration did the cultivator receive in exchange of his labour? Besides the cultivable lands under the Damaras, there were other agricultural fields in the country, the revenue from which was collected by the royal officers, the Kayasthas. What was again the relation between the roal authority and these cultivating people?

Most of these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered. Some sections of the cultivating class were probably tenants of the Damaras. Kalhana says that some of the Damaras amassed huge fortune from the revenue of their lands.[51] This could not have been possible unless they had leased out their lands to tenants. Possibly there were also agricultural labourers other than the tenants, who worked in the estates of the Damaras in some sort of wage system. Generally, all lands of Kasmira, except those held by the Damaras and those donated by the king to some person or organization, were king's property. The cultivators, who tilled these fields, had certain share of the harvest. But the major portion of the produced crops was taken by the king as tax and revenue.[52]

The agriculturists or cultivators were most bard pressed of all sections of the people. Though they produced the bulk of the national wealth, they had little share in the produce. They were constantly exploited by the Damaras on the one hand and the Kayastha officers of the king on the other. Ksemendra vividly describes how the Kayasthas made fortunes during

autumn when the harvest was reaped from the field and when the cultivators had to pay periodical taxes to the king.[53] He is also eloquent on the unfair means adopted by the Kayasthas for filling up their personal purses and compares them to fish catchers who came to devour rustic fishes.[54] Some of the kings were so oppressive that they took the whole harvest of the field, including the cultivator's share for three consecutive years.[55] While the courtiers ate fried meat and drank delightful light wine, scented with flowers and deliciously cooled, the cultivators of the villages had to take rice or dry barley in husks, and a wild growing vegetable of bitter taste called *utpalasa.ka*.[56] The oppression of the landholders and bureaucracy reduced the agriculturists to such straits that they had scarcely anything left as the price of their hard toil. Kalhana frankly confesses that these oppressions exasperated them so much that whenever there were internal conflicts in the country, they left their peaceful pursuit and took up the sword eager for rebellion.[57]

Although agriculture formed the principal feature of Kasmira's economy, a number of crafts and industries had developed at an early period. The different classes of people engaged in various industries included weavers, jewellers, blacksmiths, sculptors, potters, leather-tanners etc. (for an account of these industrial classes, see *infra*, pp. 107-09). Regarding the nature and organization of industrial labour nothing is known. Unlike some other provinces of eastern India, the workers in various industries of ancient Kasmira do not seem to have had corporate guilds of their own.

The antiquity of Kasmira's foreign trade goes down as early as the Kusana period, though it is quite possible that it started even in an earlier period. A prosperous trade would naturally give rise to a wealthy merchant class. About the

early history of this class, prior to the 7th century A.D., no information is forthcoming. In about the middle of the 7th century A.D., however, if Kalhana is to be believed, the valley was full of merchants.[58] Some of them were extremely rich and owned palaces which far excelled the royal palaces in comforts and decorations.[59] The Sresthis and Vanikas also appear as rich and luxurious people in Damodaragupta's *Kuttanimata Kavya*.[60] The ascendancy of the merchants, in the period ranging from the 7th century A.D. to the 9th century A.D., is perhaps not without significance. It was a period when Kasmira had conquered her surrounding hilly states and had carried her arms far into the plains of northern India and perhaps also in the Central Asian regions. These conquests might have created fresh markets for Kasmirian goods in far of regions and seems to have strengthened her commercial ties with contemporary powers. This was probably reflected in the increasing wealth and luxury of the merchant class of the time.

From the foregoing statement, it should not, however, be surmised that after the 9th century A.D. the merchants as a class were extinct in the society or even that they were reduced to insignificance. There are reasons to believe that with the decrease of commercial activities from the 10th century onwards, the importance of tile merchants as the most wealthy and naturally the most powerful element of the State started to diminish. From the 10th century A.D. onwards, the merchants are generally mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as not carrying on trade and commerce with distant territories but mainly engaged in monetary transactions. And in these monetary transactions, the merchants made themselves notorious by adopting dishonest method. Such remarks of Kalhana as 'the merchants are deceitful by nature', 'a merchant in a law

suit relating to the embezzlement of a deposit is more to be dreaded than a tiger', 'the merchants who have embezzled deposits show themselves ever eager to listen to the recital of sacred texts' - bespeak the greed and hypocrisy of the merchant class of this period.[61]

The dishonesty that had grown rampant among the merchants of this period was perhaps not without reason. Trade and commerce had almost stopped. The sphere of income had consequently narrowed down. Banking had come to be the only means with the help of which the merchant could make some money. But a clean banking business could never be so profitable as trade and commerce. Hence came the adoption of fraud and dishonesty and deceitful measures, the easy way of moneymaking. Kalhana's Chronicle testifies that from the end of the 9th century, the Damaras had begun to take a predominating position in the society. That the Damaras had also ousted the merchant class from the field of trade and commerce becomes evident when we find that some of the Damaras had engaged themselves in trade and were amassing fortunes by selling victuals to far off regions.[62]

Besides the persons who were engaged in agriculture, industry and trade and were thus directly connected with the production of wealth, there were other classes, who served the society in various useful ways. Among these were included the teachers[63], astrologers,[64] physicians,[65] priests,[66] barbers,[67] artisans,[68] carters,[69] workers of water wheels, hand mills etc.,[70] labourers,[71] fishermen,[72] herdsmen of cows and buffaloes,[73] soldiers and many others who followed such professions. Detailed evidence is not forthcoming regarding the position and organization of these different classes. It may, however, be presumed that even in each of these occupational classes, there were divisions, subdivisions and

gradations, according to wealth, learning and status of each in the society.

In addition to the various classes mentioned above there was yet another important class, the officers in the king's service. With their help the king carried on the State machinery and gave effect to his administrative policy. There were different gradations among the officials also.

Roughly speaking the officers could be subdivided into two principal classes,

(a) the nobility, and
(b) the bureaucracy.

The nobility consisted of the highest administrative and military officers of the State such as *sarvadhikara* or prime minister, *sachiva* or minister, *mandalesa* or governor, *kampanesa* or commander-in-chief. The Sahis and other princes of the adjoining hill-states sometimes served under the king of Kasmira and they too were included in the nobility. Besides the highest officials, poets and litterateurs of high repute who flourished in the king's court and received huge salaries[74] seem to have belonged to this upper class. Most of the members of the nobility, as big officers of the State, used to draw large salaries. Some of them also owned estates.

The term Kayastha has been used by the early writers of Kasmira as a general name applicable to all the members of the bureaucracy. The Kayasthas included such specific officers as *grihakrtyadhipati* or *grihakrtyamahattama* or simply *mahattama, paripalaka, margesa or margapati, ganjadhipa, nagaradhipa, saulkika, niyogi, adhikaranalekhaka, asvaghasakayastha, gramakayastha* and *divirs* of *nagara, grama, ganja* etc., in fact all sorts of officials from the highest administrative to the lowest clerical, whose principal duty, besides carrying on the general administration of the State, consisted in the collection of

revenue and taxes.

The term Kavastha in ancient Kasmira did not denote any particular caste: It was purely a term applied to the officials in the king's service. This is evident from Kalhana's assertion that the Brahmanas were Kayasthas.[75] The career of Kayastha seems to have been thrown open to all the members of the State. Even persons holding other hereditary occupations, sometimes-lowly ones like that of *aramika* (gardener) could enter into the rank of the Kayastha.[76] A Kayastha holding a lower office could be promoted into a higher rank. Ksemendra says that it was the ambition of every Kayastha to become the *grhakrtyamahattama,* the highest office that could be held by a Kayastha.[77]

The Kayasthas received their salary from the royal treasury. Probably they were used to get monthly payments.[78] There are reasons to believe that besides the usual salary which they received for their service to the State, they usurped parts of the revenue which 'were collected by them for deposit in the royal treasury. Thus, while describing the condition of the valley under Jayapida's reign, Kalhana says that the Kayasthas carried off all property of the subjects, delivering to the king only the smallest fraction of what they realized.[79] Ksemendra also speaks in the same strain.[80]

Both Ksemendra and Kalhana are eloquent about the Kayastha's greed for money, inhuman exactive measures and dishonest habits. Comparing them with the officials of other contemporary kingdoms, one cannot but feel surprised why the officials of ancient Kasmira were so oppressive and were so eager for amassing private wealth. But the reasons perhaps are not far to seek. The government ill early Kasmira was generally unstable. There were frequent wars of succession. The change of a ruler inevitably brought a change in the

home policy of the government. Favourites of the new king were posted in the highest offices of the State and there were thorough overhaulings of the different administrative departments. Many Kayasthas were dismissed from their jobs, whereas new favourites were appointed in their places. This instability of their position, forced the Kasyasthas to adopt means by which they could amass sufficient private wealth within the span of their tenure of office, so that they could be secure for the rest of their life on dismissal.

There is no mention of the Kayasthas in the first three books of the *Rajatarangini*. They appeal' as a distinct class for the first time, in the fourth book. As time passes by, the power and prestige of the Kayasthas increase and from the fourth book onwards, in each book of the *Rajatarangini*, we meet with new designations of the Kayasthas officers. The *Narmamala* of Ksemendra, written during Ananta's reign, contains a very detailed account of the Kayasthas and mentions a large number of posts, which were held by them. The gradual growing number of the Kayasthas, in course of time, as evidenced from Ksemendra and Kalhana, clearly show the increasing interference of the State in private landed properties. In the earlier times, when there were plenty of lands and considerably less population, the State did not find it necessary to exercise so much control over the lands, as lands would not have yielded much revenue at that time. But the swelling population, in courses of time, brought a greater pressure upon the land. All cultivable lands had been distributed among the people and these were more and more intensively cultivated. Naturally, they were to yield more revenue to the king than in former times. Hence the kings appointed greater number of officers for supervision of these landed properties and for collecting revenue and taxes. More-

over, after the fall of the Karkotas, the trade and commerce with foreign countries practically came to a close. So the State had to depend for its income principally on the revenue of the land. So closer supervision of landed estate was required and measures were adopted for exacting as much revenue from them as possible. That also accounts for the increased number of Kayasthas.

Among the different types of officers who comprised the Kayastha class, except the *saulkika*, we have not met with a single name, who had anything to do with the trade and commerce of the valley. Nearly all other officials were engaged in collecting revenue for supervising the revenue administration. This also tends to show the growing importance of the land in the economic life of the post-Karkota period.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Regarding the position of women in early Kasmira, we learn that the first part of a woman's life was spent in her father's house when liberal education was imparted to her. The curriculum of studies in the 9th century A.D. included the sexual sciences of Vatsyayana, Dattaka, Vitaputra and Rajaputra, the *Natyasastra* of Bharata, Visakhila's treatise on art, Dantila's work on music, uvrksayurveda, painting, needlework, woodwork, metal work, clay modelling, cookery, and practical training in instrumental music, singing, and dancing.[81] Bilhana extols the women of Kasmira for their learning which allowed them to speak fluently both Sanskrit and Prakrt.[82] Perhaps the ladies of the royal family were given a bit of administrative training. The great success with which Kasmirian queens like Sugandha and Didda governed their dominions, naturally presupposes that they were put in the way to efficiency by some previous instruction and practice. Women, in early Kasmira, played a leading role in the political

activities of the Stale of which we have many examples in the pages of Kalhana.[83]

Regarding the proper age of marriage of a woman, no positive evidence is forthcoming. A perusal of the *Rajatarangini* generally leaves the impression that pre-puberty marriage probably was not in vogue in ancient Kasmira. A story related by Ksemendra in the *Desopadesa* may indicate that girls were married at a mature age.[84]

The family life, at least of the rich, was polygamous. The kings had seraglio full of queens and concubines and their example was followed by the aristocrats. Polyandry was quite unknown except perhaps among some aboriginal hill-tribes. (Polyandry, to some extent is current among some of the aboriginal tribes of the neighbouring regions of Kasmira and it may be presumed that it was so, even in earlier days). The widow was expected to live a pure life, devoid of all luxury. The use of ornament or gorgous dress was forbidden to her.[85]

The custom of burning of *sati* was in vogue in Kasmira from an early time. In the stories of the *Kathasaritsagara*, which was composed in the valley in *c.* 11th century A.D., the custom appears to be quite common. About the historical cases of widows burning themselves at the death of their husbands, we have a number of instances in Kalhana's Chronicle. After the death of their husband Samkaravarman, Surendravati and two other queens cremated themselves along with him.[86] When Yasaskara died, his wife Trailokyadevi followed her husband into the funeral pyre.[87] Sahi princess Bimba, after the death of the son of Tunga, who happened to be her husband, entered the fire as a *sati.*[88] Queen Suryamati burnt herself in company with her dead husband Ananta.[89] Mammanika and six other queens accompanied king Kalasa into death.[90] So did Kumudalekha for her Malla.[91] When the body of the

deceased was available, the widow burnt herself along with dead husband; when it was not available, she ascended a separate pyre. Thus Jayamati burnt herself separately a few days after Uccala's body was cremated.[92] The system of *sati* was not confined to the royal family alone. Malla, the wife of Bhogasena, the Chief justice of Uccala, followed her husband to death.[93] Kalhana testifies that the wife of Damara Kosthaka entered fire at the news of her husband's imprisonment and thus became a *sati*.[94] Sometimes, courtesans accompanied their masters into fire. Jayamati, a harlot of king Kalasa[95] and Sahaja, a concubine of king Utkarsa,[96] entered the pyre of their masters. The custom of *sati* was so deeprooted in the valley, that even mothers and sisters and other near relatives burnt themselves along with their beloved deceased. Gajja cremated herself with her son Ananda,[97] Vallabha with her brother-in-law Malla[98] and the sister of Dilhabhattaraka with her brother.[99]

Literary evidence amply testify to the gross immorality and laxity of character prevailing among certain classes of women of ancient Kasmira. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* delineates in niceties of details the sensual excesses of the ladies of the palace and the court. The generally low standard of morality among certain classes of women of Kasmira has been described by Ksemendra in his *Desopadesa* and *Narmamala*. Damodaragupta's *Kuttanimala Kavya* and Ksemendra's *Samayamatrka* and *Desopadesa* point out that prostitution was popular in the society. It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the immoral atmosphere of early Kasmira as depicted in these works. But the low standard of morality prevailing among certain classes gave rise to and fostered the growth of certain evil practices in the society. One of these, the institution of *devadasi*, deserves attention.

The custom of dedicating girls to the temples for singing and dancing before the gods seems to have been a very early practice in India. It existed in Kasmira from a very early period. Kalhana mentions that king Jalauka gave hundred ladies of his seraglio who were well versed in dancing and singing to serve in the temple of Jyestharudra.[100] While coming into the historical period, we also meet with a number of instances of girls serving in the temples. A passage from the *Rajatarangini* tends to show that the system of dedicating girls to temples was prevalent during the reign of Durlabhaka Pratapaditya II.[101] Lalitaditya, in course of his adventurous journey saw two dancing girls belonging to a temple.[102] During the reign of Kalasa two dancing girls Kayya and Sahaja were attached to a temple.[103] Kalhana himself was an eyewitness of superannuated dancing women in the temples of the valley.[104]

The *Rajatarangini* makes it quite clear that girls who served in the temples could be taken away for personal enjoy meant by the king. Durlabhaka Pratapaditya A fell in love with a married woman named Narendraprabha. He was very eager to have the lady, but afraid of slander could not take her to his seraglio. Then the merchant Nona, the husband of Narendraprabha, requested the king to adopt her as his queen but finding him reluctant finally said, 'If even after this declaration you do not accept her, then you should take her from a temple as a dancing girl put there by me on account of her skill in dancing'.[105] It is thus evident that temple-girls, like common harlots, could be enjoyed by the king. Sahaja, a dancing girl attached to a temple, was taken by prince Utkarsa as a concubine into the royal harem.[106]

The bad immoral practices underlying the system of *devadasi* must have received some opposition from the honest

and pure-minded section of the people. Alberuni refers to such an opposition in northwest parts of India during his time but then says that this was of no avail since the kings and nobles supported the custom.[107]

REFERENCES

1. Abhinavagupta and Bihana's ancestors were Madhyadesi Brahmanas whereas the ancestors of Abhinanda, the author of the *Kadambari-kathasara* hailed from Gauda.
2. The earliest inscriptional reference of the Brahmanas occurs in the edict of Asoka, where they have been mentioned as one of the most important classes among the population of the Maurya Empire. Since the valley of Kasmira was included within Asoka's empire, it is not quite unlikely that the Brahmanas from other parts of India had come to live in Kasmira by the time of Asoka. The *Rajatarangini* refers to Brahmanas who had come to Kasmira from Aryadesa (1,341).
3. *R. T.*, IV, 137.
4. *R. T.*, IV, 469, 496.
5. *R. T.*, VI, 168, 194, 284.
6. *R. T.*, VII, 91.
7. *R. T.*, VII, 1177.
8. *R. T.*, VIII, 472.
9. *R. T.*, VA, 1071.
10. *R .T.*, IV, 5, 415, 673, V, 16-17, 120, VI, 89, VII, 295-97, etc.
11. *R .T.*, I, 87-88, 96, 341, V, 403, 442, VI, 89, VII, 184.
12. *R. T.*, II, 132, V, 48-52, 170.
13. *Samayamatrka*, II, 77.
14. *R. T.*, V, 101.
15. *R. T.*, VIII, 358.
16. *Si-yu-ki*, (tr. Beal), i, pp. 150, 156.
17. Cunningham was of opinion that the *Ki-lo*-to of Hiuen Tsang stood for the Kira people (*Ancient Geography*, p. 107, Chuckervertty Chatterjee ed.). Stein has pointed out quite reasonably that this identification is not tenable but he also fails

to suggest any better identification (*R. T.*, Eng. tr. Vol. II, p. 430).

18. *R. T.*, VI, 192.
19. *R. T.*, VI, 182.
20. *R. T.*, V, 354-396.
21. Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.
22. *R. T.*, V, 390-94, 405, 407, 413, 415.
23. *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.
24. *R. T.*, IV, 516, VII, 309.
25. *R. T.*, IV, 475, 476.
26. *R. T.*, VIII, 304, 325, 1103.
27. *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.
28. *India* (tr. Sachau), i, pp. 101-2; *R. T.*, V, 77, VI, 79,192.
29. *Nilamata* (ed. De Vreese), verse 924; *R. T.* VII, 207, 1665, VIII, 3031, 3063-69, 3077, 3230.
30. Wilson, *Essay*, p. 51 and p. 70.
31. *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, Vol. III, p. 125.
32. *R. T.*, IV, 348.
33. *R. T.*, V, 51-60.
34. *R. T.*, V, 306-08, 326-28, 405-10.
35. *R. T.*, V, 447, VI, 354.
36. *R. T.*, VII, 154, 167, 357-58, 765.
37. *R. T.*, VII, 223, 266, 576, 579, 914, 1227- 45.
38. *R. T.*, VII, 1254, VIII, 648, 929, 1124, 1153, 2505.
39. *R. T.*, (Eng.tr.Stein), Vol. I, pp.123-24.
40. *R. T.*, VIII, 458-59, 1444, 1607, 2337, 2953.
41. Samayamatrka (ed. Durgaprasad), II, 21.sqq.
42. *R. T.*, VII, 1172-73.
43. *R. T.*, VII, 494.
44. *R. T.*, VII, 495.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *R. T.*, VII, 1171, 1228-33, 1237, 1254, VIII, 627, 910, 1127, 2009-12.
47. Wilson, *Essay*, pp.51, 70 sqq.

48. *R. T.*, VII, 1022,1631, VIII, 424,591, 733, 1430, 3115.
49. *Proc. Indian History Congress*, 1946, pp.191-92.
50. Stein, *Notes on Ou-kong's account of Kasimira*, p.24; Alberuni, Inida (tr. Sachau), ii, p.206.
51. *R. T.*, VII, 495.
52. *R. T.*, IV, 628.
53. *Samayamatrka*, I, 49.
54. *Narmamala*, I, 97-127.
55. *R. T.*, IV, 628.
56. *R. T.*, V, 49, VIII, 1864, 1866-67.
57. *R. T.*, VI, 9, VIII, 2518.
58. *R. T.*, IV, 11.
59. *R.T.*, IV, 15-16.
60. *Kuttanimata Kavya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 68.
61. *R. T.*, VI, 23, VII, 124-36, 708.
62. *R. T.*, VII, 495.
63. *R. T.*, V, 469, VI, 13, VII, 706-10; *Narmamala*, II, 100.
64. *R. T.*, VI, 13, VII, 82-91, 295-97; *Narmamala*, II, 100-116.
65. *R. T.*, IV, 216, VI, 13; *Narmamala*, II, 68-81; *Samayamatrka*, II, 71.
66. *R. T.*, II, 132, V, 465-66, VII, 13; VIII, 901-939.
67. *R.T.*, VII, 203; *Desopadesa*, VI, 29; *Samayamatrka*, I, 8, 35.
68. *R. T.*, VIII, 727.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *R. T.*, VII, 1232.
71. *R. T.*, V, 441.
72. *R. T.*, VII, 405-06, VIII, 2132; *Desopadesa*, VI, 29.
73. *R. T.*, VI, 318-20.
74. *R. T.*, V, 204.
75. *R. T.*, VIII, 2383.
76. *R. T.*, VII, 39-41.
77. *Narmamala*, I, 32 ff.
78. *R. T.*, V, 175.
79. *R. T.*, IV, 629.

80. In his *Narmamala* Kesmendra vividly describes how the Kayasthas steal away the State property and property of the temples which a view of making money and also how they increase their private wealth by extorting from the villagers articles and cash money.
81. *Kuttanimata Kavya*, 122, 123, 124.
82. *Vikramankadevacarita*, XVIII, 6.
83. *R. T.*, VIII, 1820, 1823, 1968, 3118-19, etc.
84. *Desopadesa*, VII.
85. *R. T.*, VIII, 1969.
86. *R. T.*, V, 226.
87. *R. T.*, VI, 107.
88. *R. T.*, VII, 103.
89. *R. T.*, VII, 477-479.
90. *R. T.*, VII, 724.
91. *R. T.*, VII, 1486.
92. *R. T.*, VIII, 368.
93. *R. T.*, VIII, 445.
94. *R. T.*, VIII, 2334.
95. *R. T.*, VII, 724.
96. *R. T.*, VII, 858.
97. *R. T.*, VII, 1380.
98. *R. T.*, VII, 1486.
99. *R. T.*, VIII, 446.
100. *R. T.*, I, 151.
101. *R. T.*, IV, 36.
102. *R. T.*, IV, 269.
103. *R. T.*, VII, 857-58.
104. *R. T.*, VIII, 707.
105. *R. T.*, IV, 36.
106. *R. T.*, VII, 858.
107. Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p.157.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

OUR sources of information for the early economic conditions of Kasmira are extremely meagre. Inscriptions play a leading role in tracing out the early economic life of the plains of India. But in the secluded valley of Kasmira, there is hardly anything to relate a sound story of the past. For the economic conditions of early Kasmira, we have got to depend on literary sources, indigenous as well as foreign, which, while dealing with other affairs, also incidentally tell us something about its early economic status. Among the native sources; Kalhana's, *Rajatarangini* is an important work. Though, mainly speaking, the book treats with history of the ruling families of the valley, from the earliest times up to the 12th century A.D., it often supplies us with much useful information about the agriculture, industry and trade of the land and various problems connected with them. Interesting sidelights on the early economic history of Kasmira have been also thrown by some of the works of the Kasmirian poet Ksemendra (11th century A.D.), specially by this *Narmamala*, *Samayamatrka* and *Desopadesa*. Of the foreign accounts, those of Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D), Ou-kong (8th century A.D.) and Alberum (11th century A.D) may be

utilized for gleaning some important details bearing on the economic condition of the people of early Kasmira.

AGRICULTURE

Kasmira was primarily a land of villages where the bulk of the population naturally took to agriculture as their principal means of livelihood. Kalhana tells us that the villagers were wholly absorbed by agriculture.[1]

Among the agricultural products, paddy seems to have been cultivated extensively from an early period as it was the staple food crop. *Dhanya* has been frequently, mentioned in the *Nilamatapurana* as a major food of the people which was also offered in worship to gods. It is also quite clear from the pages of the Rajatarangini that *dhanya* or rice was the staple produce of the valley, the scarcity of which often resulted in disastrous famines. According to the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) rice was the principal food of the people of Kashmir[2]. The seeds of the rice probably sown during the month of *Caitra*.[3] By the month of *Bhadrapada* the fields were covered with ripe autumnal rice - crop[4] and the harvest was reaped in the next month after which a ceremony of new crops (*navanna*) was performed[5]. The method adopted for husking rice appears to have been the same as it is in modern times. Before removing the outer husk, the rice had to be dried, as reference to which seems to be contained in the *Rajatarangini* in the poets description of a lady watching the rice, left out side the courtyard to dry in the sun.[6] Lands had to be ploughed properly before the showing of seeds and oxen were employed for tillage of fields.[7]

Of the other food crops cultivated mention may be made of *yava*, i.e., barley and pulses. The *yava* according to the evidence furnished by the *Nilamatapurana* ripened at the end of *fyaistha*.[8] The pulses consisted of several varieties such as *cana*, *Kulattna*, masura and *muga*.[9]

Hiuen Tsang visited Kasmira in the 7th century A.D. and declared that the country 'was a good agricultural one and produced abund. At fruits and flower'. The pear the (*li*), the wild plum (*nai*), the peach (*t'au*), the apricot (*hang* or *mui*) and the graph (*po-tua*) were the principal fruits noticed by the pilgrim.[10]

Draksa orgrand seems to have been particularly cultivated. While singing of his homeland the poet Bilhana describes the grapes growing abundantly in the valley.[11] Kalhana says that grapes which were scarce even in heaven, were common in Kasmira.[12]

Another important agricultural product was the saffron or *humkuma* (croeus *sativus*) which was extensively cultivated. The name *yuh-chin-hsiang* which has been identified by watters as saffron occurs among the products of Kasmira specified by Hiuen Tsang.[13] In the *Nilamatapurana* we often find references of *kumkuma*, used in the service of worship offered to gods. Bilhana testifies to the natural growth of the saffron in the valley,[14] a fact that is also corroborated by Kalhana's evidence.[15] The saffron flowers blossomed in autumn and were once used to adorn the necks of oxen at the autumnal festival.[16]

IRRIGATION

The paddy which was the staple food of the population generally grew on the fertile lands adjoining to the river Vitasta. Due to the lack of rain and proper system of irrigation it could not be cultivated in other regions. The produce, which was never sufficient, could feed the entire population only which great difficulty. Up to the middle of the 9th century A.D., the price of a *khari* (177 Ibs.) of the rice was 200 *dinaras* even in times of great abundance.[17]

Sometimes when the snow melted the great vitasta rose to the top of the banks and overvflowed the arable lands

around. Heavy summer rains also often caused disastrous foods and immense damage to the crops.

The floods and the famines which followed as a consequence, were constant dangers in old time. The cost of a *khari* of rice rose as high as 1050 dinaras during the rule of later feeble Karkota kings when the country was overtaken by disastrous floods.[18] In 917 A.D., when the whole autumn rice - crop was destroyed by a flood, the *Khari* was sold for a thousand *dinaras.*[19] In 1099 A.D., when Harsa was the king of Kasmira, many villages were flooded by an inundation and 500 *dinaras* had to be paid for a single *khari* of rice.[20]

Attempts were made to protect the cultivable lands from the disaster of floods from a very early time. A king called Damodara is said by Kalhana to have built long stone-lined dykes in order to guard against inundations.[21] The minister of king Baladitya selected an embankment.[22] The constructions of embankment were meant to protect the cultivable lands from floods whereas the surplus water which was thus obtained had the chance of being passed into several channels to irrigate other fields. An attempt to this direction was made by king Lalitaditya who arranged for conducting the waters of the Vitasta at Cakradhara (mod Tsakadar) and distributed it to various villages. On account m the high plateaus around Cakradhara, the lands enclosed between Tsakadar and Vijabror could not be irrigated by means of ordinary canals and Lalitaditya had to take recourse to the construction of a series of water wheels (*ambhahprataranа*).[23]

The drainage operation of Lalitaditya made the country productive to a certain extent.[24] But the work of irrigation started by the great monarch was neglected by his incompetent successors when serious floods visited the valley (R.T., V, 70).

An attempt was made by Suyya, the irrigation minister of king Avantivarman A.D. 855/ 56 - 883) to regulate the waters

of the Vitasta and to drain the whole valley. Near Yaksadara (mod. Dyargul) large rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks obstructed the Vitasta. Suyya dragged out the rocks from the river and the level of the river was lowered. Next a stone dam was constructed across the bed of the river for seven days when the river bed was cleared at the bottom and stone walls were erected against further fall of rocks. The dam was then removed and the river flowed with great rapidity through its newly cleared passage.

Wherever inundation breaches were known to occur during disastrous floods, new beds were constructed for the Vitasta. Formerly the Vitasta and the Sindhu met at a place between the village of Trigam and the Paraspor plateau, now they came to meet at a junction opposite to Shadipur. By changing the course of the Vitasta from the north of Trigam to the south of it, Suyya reclaimed the marshes south of the Volur lake. The Volur lake was dammed and the new river course now carried its waters to that part of the Volur lake which by its depth and well-defined boundaries was naturally designed great reservoir to receive the surplus waters of the dangerous floods. On the land reclaimed, new villages were established. Suyya, then decided for each village the extent and distribution of the water course on a permanent basis and by using for irrigation the Anula and other streams enriched all regions by prosperous irrigated fields that suited their splendid and bounteous crops.[25]

The endeavours of Suyya met with unique success. We have already noted on the evidence of Kalhana, that up to the middle of the 9th century A.D., the price of a *khari* of rice, even in times of great abundance was 200 *dinaras*. As a result of Suyya's operations, the khari of rice came to be bought for 36 *dinaras* only [26].

Suyya's example to irrigate the unfertile plateaus of Kasmira was probably followed by others. An inscription discovered at Hatun, in the Punial tract up the Gilgit river records that Makarasimha, a feudatory of the Sahi kings of Gilgit, cut a canal (Kulya) and brought water to a land which was a waste before (*atavi*). (FRAS 1994, pp. 5-14) It is likely that similar projects were undertaken in Kasmira proper also.

The irrigation scheme of Suyya's or of any other person however, could not permanently save the country from the clutches of famine, serious recurrences of which took place at least during the reigns of Partha and Harasa.[27] With the growth of population, there must have been an increasing pressure on the total produce of the valley. The high plateaus could not be cultivated.

The cultivable lands being limited the food-grains which grew from them were also of a limited quantity. In normal times the restricted quantity of food-crops might have been just enough to meet the requirement of the entire population. But if any disaster, weather natural or man - made, deprived the country from a portion of its limited food supply, famines were the invariable result.

INDUSTRY

Though the majority of the inhabitants of early Kasmira were engaged in agriculture, a considerable number of the populace took up various industries and crafts as their vocations. The most notable of these were textiles, particularly of woolen, jewellery, smithtery, leather-work stone-work, wood-work and pottery.

Very fine cloth must have been produced in the valley from a remote period. In one of the tiles of Hawan, there appears a lady, wearing transparent robes.[28] There can be no doubt, that the superfine robes of which the artist speaks was a reality. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kasmira, he found the

people wearing cloths of white linen. Regarding the various kinds of woollen garments which were prevalent in Kasmira and other parts of North India where the air was cold, the following observations of the Chinese pilgrim deserve to be quoted. 'The names for their (i.e., of the people of northern India) clothing materials are *kiao-she-ye* (*kausheya*) and Muslim (*tieh*) and calico(*pu*), *Kausheya* being silk from a wild silkworm; *ch'u* (or *ch'u*) *-mo* (*kshauma*), a kind of linen; *han* (or *kan*)-po-lo (*kambala*), a texture of fine wool (sheep's wool or goat's hair)·and ho- la- li (ral?) a texture made from the wool of a wild. Animals - this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven is prized as a material for clothing'[29]. Leaving aside *ho- la - li* which was rare, it is evident from Hiuen Tsang that there were three main types of clothing; the first being *kauseya* covering, various kinds of silk and the second *ksauma*, linen manufactured from flax and hemp and the third *kambala*, implying woolen blankets and other kinds or cloth made from the wool of goats and similar other animals.

Various kinds of woollen blankets and garments such as *lohita - kambala, stirula- kambala, kutha* and *pravara* are referred to in Ksemendra's *Naramamala* and *Samayamairka* and in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. Pattana (Mod Patan, the town founded by king Samkaravarman) was a city famous for the weaving of clothes.[30] Woollen industry naturally presupposes the existence of a on devoted to pasture and there must have been many people in Kasmira who took up cattle-rearing as their means of livelihood. In this connection it is interesting to note, that Pattana which was a cloth weaving centre, was also a city famous for the transactions and sale of cattle.[31]

Another important industry was smithery. No agricultural community can go without implements which are needed for ploughing and digging soil and reaping harvest. Blacksmiths, therefore, were engaged from a remote period in making different

types of tools which were employed in agriculture. Different kinds of steel weapons, such as swords, arrow - heads, dagger, *katar* or mace used in battle, were also manufactured by them. Copper and bronze, in addition to the black metal, engaged the attention of the metal workers. Various types of domestic utensils needed for the purpose of cooking and serving the food were made from brass and copper[32]. Some images discovered from the valley bespeak a high standard of craftsmanship that the workers of early Kasmira achieved in casting and moulding bronze.

Jewellery too, provided food for many of the metal - workers. The inhabitants of the valley, men and women alike, used various types of silver, golden and precious stone - made jewelleres for personal adornment. The fashion ornaments changed from time to time[33]and the goldsmiths had always a busy time of it. Both Ksemendra and Kalhana testify that kings and nobles tool their meals in cups and dishes which were made of gold and silver. Golden pitchers have been alluded to.[34]

Pottery was one of the principal crafts. The Yale Cambridge expeditionary party, which made a trial excavation at Burzahom (between Srinagar and Gandarbal) in the year 1935 found a large number of ancient pottery. While the lower culture layer yielded a type of highly polished black ware and potsherds with incised geometric designs assignable to a period ranging from 3000 to 1800 B.c., the upper culture layer was founded to contain potsherds belonging to the same Buddhist period as the site of Harwan, which represents the 4th century A.D. (*De Terra and Paterson, studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, p234; for a fuller decision on the pottery see infra pp. 190-91; also p. 204, footnotes).

A large number of earthen vesels such as Jar, ghara, handi, jug, bowl. Kangari or earthen brazier incense burner, bottle,

earthen lamp, etc., have also been recovered at Avantipura. Many of them are datable to the 9th century A.D.[35] Several terracotta plaques which were discovered from the same site als speak of the potter's art. Ksemendra refers to earthen ear-rings which were used by women of the poorer classes.[36] In one passage of the *Rajatarangini* Kalhan makes mention of potter-woman, from the context of which, it appears that pottery as industry worked well in the valley.[37]

Another important industry was that of glass. In the *Rajatarangini* it is stated that the merchant Padmaraja regularly despatched to king Bhoja of Malwa, the water of Papsudana *tirtha* filled in large numbers of glass jars.[38] Huge quantity of ancient glass fragments are found strewn on the road that leads to the Papasudana-Kapatesvara spring from the village of Kother.[39] They indicate that in early times there existed a flourishing glass industry in the locality.

Among other industries, those of leather-work, wood- work and stone-work were important. According to Chinese evidence, in the 7th century A.D., the people of Kasmira wore leather doublets.[40] Kalhana speaks of leather tanners as members of a particular profession.[41] Ksemendra refers to leather water-bag among the important camp luggages of a Kayastha offices.[42] The peacock shoes and other foot-wears must have been made of leather.[43] In this connection, It is interesting to note Kalhana's remark that a hundred dinaras were given to one leather-worker for the repair of a torn shoe and of a whip.[44]

Wood was probably employed for structural purpose, but in the absence of any architectural specimen of wood-carving, it is not possible to make any definite assertion on the point. Wood-workers, however must have made boats, cariages, palanquins and other types of conveyances and also household furnitures.[45]

The stone images which have been discovered in the

valley, amply testify to the skill of the stone-carver of Kasmira and also to the wide extent of his profession.

Besides the principal industries mentioned above, there were many other minor industries, arts and crafts. In this connection mention may be made of the professions of fishermen, gardeners, garland-makers, barbers, carters, and different types of artisans who formed various classes of the society. If Kalhana is to be believed, there were copper mines in ancient Kasmira[46] and many workers must have been employed there for extracting the metal.

TRADE

Geographically, Kasmira occupies a key position touching the borders of India, Tibet Afghanistan and Central Asia, a feature that make her a great culture of trade and commerce.

Our knowledge regarding the internal trade of early Kasmira is comparatively meagre. Kalhana's mention of regularly arranged markets (hatta) in the city of Pravarapura[47] and references of new foundations of market by some members of the royal family in other towns[48], however, leave no room for doubt that a brisk inland trade was carried on in Kasmira from a remote period. Kalhana's description of the semi-legendary town of Narapura where the markets were kept full of supplies shows how closely the markets were associated in the Kasmirian mind with the idea of a large town.[49]

The principal items of commerce within the country were probably the different kinds of woollen cloth, food-grams, grape-wine, saffron, cattle, iron implements earthen wares, bronze and copper utensils, leather-goods, etc., which were the chief natural and industrial product of the country. Though no detailed evidence is forthcoming, it seems almost certain that various town and cities of the valley like Puranadhisthana, Huskapura, Pravarapura, Parihasapura, Jayapura, Samkarapattana, Avantipura, and Surapura were

principal commercial centres. Kalhana informs us that Sarkarapattana was a city famous for the purchase and sale cattle and for cloth weaving.[50] As already mentioned, Srinagar or Pravarapura had several markets.[51] A market called Kamalahatta was founded at Parihasapura by Lalitadltya's queen.[52] Surapura was an important station on the route to Rajapuri and was evidently a convenient emporium on the southern trade route. The internal trade was carried on both by land and river. Some idea of the land route may probably be had from the itinerary of the Chinese traveler Hiuen Tsang. The pilgrim entered the valley from the west through the Baramula pass. From Baramula he went to Huskapura. The next place which he visited Srinagara or Pravarapura, the capital. From the capital the pilgrim travelled through a mountainous district south west for above 700 li and reached *Pan-nu-tso*, i.e., modem Punch. From Punch, a journey south-west of above 400 li brought him to the *Ho-lo-she-pu-lo* (Rajapuri) country which at the time of Hiuen Tsang was subject to Kasmira.[53] There can be little doubt that in the 7th century A..D., commercial products were chiefly carried in the same road through which Hiuen Tsang travelled.

Rich riverine traffic too was carried on along the navigable parts of the Jhelum. The boats were used in the happy valley for conveyance from a remote period and it may be presumed that many of them were employed for carrying commercial goods from one end of the country to the other. Dayaram Sahni is of opinion that the large sized stone blocks which were needed for the construction of big tempies must have been carried in strong boats.[54] That the river Vitasta played an important part in the commercial traffic of the valley is also evident from the fact that most of the cities and towns of ancient Kasmira flourished on its banks.

Kasmira's trade relations with foreign territories must be

traced to a period of remote antiquity. Regular commercial contact with the countries of Central Asia must have been established as a result of the Kusana conquest of the valley, if not earlier. Her trade with India was most probably carried on from an even remoter period, perhaps since the days of Asoka. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from tracing its early character or determine its date. According to the evidence furnished by Kalhana, Kasmira had political and cultural alliance with Loh, i.e., Leh, the capital of Ladakh from a considerable early period.[55] Possibly some sort of commercial relation also existed between the two countries.

The principal routes of Kasmira leading to the neighboring countries, references to which may be found in the accounts of foreign travellers as well as in indigenous literature, were presumably also the chief routes though which trade and commerce with other countries were carried on.

The chief land route on the west was that which went from Varahamula to Gandhara. In the 7th century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang entered Kasmira through this route Ou-kong coming from Gandhara followed this route on his way to the happy valley about the middle of 8th century A.D., He describes this route as the road which starts from ' the western gate' and goes to *Kien-to-lo* i.e., Gandhara[56]. Kalhana's account tends to show that king Samkaravarman's (A.D. 883-902) expeditionary forces against Urasa set out and returned by this route.[57] A somewhat detailed description of this route has also been prevented in Alberuni's *Kitab -ul Handi*, where it is said to be the ' best known' entrance to Kasmira.[58] The western route was undoubtedly one of the most important trade routes of Kasmira for it was connected with the famous ancient trade lines leading up to Central Asia and China. One of these lines, as we learn from the Chinese biography of Jinagupta (6th century A.D.), passed through

Nagarahara, the trade emporium of Kapisa, the Bamiyan range, the territories of Badakhshan, Wakhan and Tash Kurghan and ultimately reached Khotan. Another Indian Buddhist pilgrim Dharmagupta (c. 6th century A.D.) availed himself of this route, but from Tash Kurghan, instead of going directly to Khotan through snow - peaked ranges, he went directly to Kashgar.

From the accounts left by Indian and Chinese pilgrims, we learn that from Kashgar two different routes went up to the frontiers of China, one along the southern fringes of the Tarim basin and the other along the north. The prosperous states of Yarkand, Khotan, Niya and number of forgotten colonies near the sites of Dandan Ulik and Miran were situated on the southern route. The countries lying along the northern route, were Bharuka, Kuci, Karashar and Turfan. The two routes, coming from the south and north met on the Chinese frontier at a place named *yu-men-kuan*. The routes of Central Asia mentioned above played an important part in the trade relation between India on the one hand and Central Asia and China on the other. Merchants and traders from Kasmira must have travelled by, these routes during the Kusana period and afterwards.[59]

The northern route ran from the north shore of the Volur lake through the modem village of Atawat and Vijjemarg leading to Astor and Balti territories on the Indus. This route was followed by the Chinese travellers Fa-hien (399 A.D.), Che-mong (400 A-D.) and Fa-young (420 A.D.), the Chinese official envoy *Song - yun* (518 A.D.) and the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong.[60] described it as the second pass of Kasmira leading up to *po- liu* or Baltistan.[61] Taranath writes that the second pass became fit for communication soon after Madhyantika's death.[62] The present Gilgit road seems to run beside the old pass. In ancient times, this route must have served as a

second line of commerce with Central Asia and China, though due to its inaccessibility, it might have been less frequented. Kasmira's trade link with Darad territory was also maintained by this route.

To the east of Kasmira, there was a third important route leading to Ladakh and then to Tibet and China. It is represented by the present pass of *Jo-ji-la*. This route was distinctly referred to by Ou-kong who mentioned it as the road which started from the 'gate in the east' and led to *Tou-fan* or Tibet.[63] Kalhana's Chrornicle probably points out that when the northern route from Darad country to Kasmira became closed by the winter, this route of the Bhautta land. Bhutta rastradhvan was used for a journey towards Kasmira.[64] The Jo-ji-la pass must have played a great part in the political, cultural and commercial intercourse between Tibet and Kasmira. In the 14th century A.D. the Turk Dulca and the Bhautta Rincana entered the happy valley through it.[65]

Several other routes of Kasmira on the Southern side penetrated through the Pir Pantsal range to India proper. The Banasala or Banhal pass on eastern extremity of the range maintained link with the hill states of East Punjab. This pass was the only route across the Pir Pantsal range where the snowfall was comparatively little and where communication was possible throughout the year. Hence the route was specially suitable for Bhiksacara's invasion to Kasmira from the valley Chenab which took place in winter. [66]

Proceeding westwards from Banasala, we come to the pass of Siddhapatha. This pass lies on a route directly connecting Srinagara with Sialkot (anc. Sakala) in the Punjab. During the reign of Sussala Prasa, son of Sahasramangala, with the view of raising a rebellion prepared to march into Kasmira by this route.[67] Due to its hilly character traffic in the route was possible only foot .

West of the Suddhapataha pass near the central part of the Pir Pantsal range, runs the Pir Pantsal route. In early days it was much frequented line of commerce between Kasmira and central Punjab. The route took its start from the Kasmira town of Surapura. Which was founded by Avantivarman's minister Sura.[68] It then passed across kramavarta[69], Hastivanja.[70] Pancaladhara[71] and Pusyananada[72] and reached Bhairavagala.[73] in the territory of Rajapuri[74]. Ksemendra's mention of a part of this route as *lavanasarani*[75] tends to show that ancient salt trade between Punjab and Kasmira was carried on by this route.

The last important route across Pir Pantsal range was the Tosmaidan pass. It lay on an ancient line of communication which joined Srinagara and Lohara and afterwards led to the valley of Punch. Hiuen Tsang-tells us that from near the capital of Kasmira, he traveled through a difficult mountainous district south west for above 700 *li* to the *Pan- nu-ts'o* country[76]. On his way to Parnotsa, the Chinese pilgrim in all probability, seems to have crossed the Tosrnaidan route. After the death of Samgramaraja, the king of Kasmira, Lohara king Vigraharaja invaded Kasmira. His army in this journey from Lohara to Srinagara marched through this way.[77] Kalhana's Chronicle reveals that during the rule of the first and second Lohara dynasty the Tosmaidan route was a line of frequent communication.[78] If Alberuni is to be believed. Mahmud of Ghazni's unsuccessful expedition against Kasmira was also directed by this route [79].

The western, northern and castern routes, as well as the various passes over the Pir Pantsal range leading to the south, were important lines of communication between Kasmira and her neighbouring territories and a brisk trade must have been carried through these routes in ancient times. The several rotes over the Pir Pantsa1 range, which as we have already seen were links between Kasmira and central and eastern

parts of the Punjab, were joined by other highways which penetrated far into the interior provinces of India. Kasmira's trade with midland and eastern India was probably carried, in the 7th century A.D, by the same way in which Hiuen Tsang journeyed. Damodara Gupta's *Kuttanimala* relates, to the events of Varanasi in such a manner that it seems extremely likely that some sort of communication existed between Banaras and Kasmira. The *Kathasantsagara* of Somadeva which preserves traditions of a comparatively early age refers a mendicant travelling from Kasmira to Pataliputra and to student from the seat of learning, of Pataliputra going to Kasmira[80], whereas Ksemendra found students from Gauda reading at the educational institutions of the happy valley[81]. The routes by which the students from the eastern parts of India traveled, were presumably also the trade routes of early times. Poet Bilhana's account of journey from Kasmira to south India bears testimony to the fact that in the 11th century A.D., Kasmira was connected by highways with the principal cities and kingdoms of India. After leaving his native country he (Bilhana) made for the banks of the Jamna along which the high road from north-western to central India was situated then as now. The first town, in which he stopped for sometime, was the sacred Tirtha, Mathura; thence he crossed over north wards to the Ganges and visited Kanoj. Following apparently the course of the latter river, he arrived at its confluence with the Jamana at Prayaga (Allahabad) and finally at Banaras. This town appears to have been the easternmost point in his travels. It would seem that either at Banaras or in travelling back westwards he made the acquaintance of Karna, the prince holding Dahala (Chedi or Bundelkhand.... On leaving Karna, the poet visited western India, attracted no doubt by the fame of the courts courts of Dhara and Anhilvad and the sanctity of Somnath Pathan, the celebrated temple of Siva in Sorath.... After performing his

devotions at Somanatha, Bilhana embarked, no doubt at the neighbouring port of Verabal, for the South of India. He continued is wanderings in the south for a considerable time and visited Ramesvara. Thence he turned north wards and fully arrived in Kalyana. Where king Vikrama cave him the office of vidyapati or Chief Pandit [82]. It is likely that the routes by which the poet Bilhana journeyed were traversed by many merchants and traders and their caravans carrying loads of commercial commodities. Bilhana was not the only Kasmirian to accept a post in the court of Vikramaditya VI. The Lakshmeshwar inscription of the year 27 of Tribhuvnamalla Vikramaditya VI refers to His Majesty's high minister and general Bhivanaya or Bhima, a native of Kasmira who held the title of *mahasamantadhipati* and tilled several important offices,being at the time the administrator of the palasige twelve thousand and the controller of *achchu- pannaya*, one of the departments of taxation.[83] Then again the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Asokachalla of the Laksmana samvat 51 makes mention of a *pandit* of Kasmira who was the *rajaguru* or royal preceptor and whose name has been differently read by scholars as Kasmira pandita Bhadanta Gucapatha or Kasmira pandita Abhaya Sriraja.[84] Another celebrated monk of Kasmira Vinayasri mitra those as his abode the Kanakastupavihara of Pattikeraka, in the district of Tipperah. All these amply show that Kasmira's communication with other parts of India was quite frequent in early days.

Though no detailed evidence is forthcoming, it may be presumed that the chief articles of export were raw wool, manufactured woollen cloths, hides, skins and leather goods, and fruits like pear, wild-plum, peach, apricot and grape.[85] Kalhana refers to the selling of victuals by traders to far off regions which must have been very profitable.[86] Another important product for which the Kasmirians could find an easy market outside their territory was the saffron. That

demand for the Kasmirian saffron in Indian market was very great in ancient times can be inferred from Sri Harsa's *Ratnavali*, where the saffron of Kaimira is preferred to the saffrons grown in the country of the Parasikas and the Bahlikas.[87]

Among the principal items of import, salt was a considerable commodity. Without any sea and without any mountain or mine of salt, Kasmira had to depend upon her neighbouring territories for the supply of this important article. The Pir Pantsal route was the chief way by which salts from Punjab mines were brought to the happy valley. Ksemendra's mention of a portion of this route as *lavanasarani* or salt road is undoubtedly a reminisence of the ancient salt trade.[88] The ssafoetida and other kinds of spices which were used[89], but which old not grow within the limits of Kasmira, appear to have been imported from outside, presumably from the regions adjoining Afghanistan. From China were imported fine cloths *cinambara*[90] and vermillion.[91] According to the evidence of Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) coral, which was carried from the western parts of the world, had a better sale in Kasmira than in any other country.[92]

The mountain passes, through which trade was carried on, were well protected for fear of foreign invasions and each of them had a watch station at the end of the route. In addition to soldiers, customs officers were posted in these stations for collecting duties. Ksemendra -refers to the *sulkasthana* of the Kasmirian end of the Pir Pantsal route and the *saulkikas* who were posted on duty there.[93] A passage from the *Rajatarangini* clearly points out that commodities coming and going through the watch stations were stamped and registered by the customs officers and duties had to be paid to them on export and import of articles [94].

MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

The economic condition of ancient Kasmira seems to find a reflection in its medium of exchange.

The use of metallic currency marks considerable advance in the economic life of a country. As we shall shortly see, coins were probably introduced in the valley of Kasmira earlier than the birth of Christ. It is, however, interesting to observe that in Kasmira there were other media of exchange even when coins were being used in daily transactions.

One of these was cowrie shell. Cowrie shells, in fact, had been in use in almost all parts of India from a remote period. When metallic coins were not invented, it was presumably the principal medium of exchange in economic transactions. But sometimes it was found to be current side by side with gold, silver and copper coins. Fa-hien noticed 9506+ cowries being used in the markets of Madhyadesa in the Gupta period. In Bengal, revenue was collected in the form of cowrie shell even as late as 1750 .A.D. The same thing happened in Kasmira too. If Ksemendra is to be believed, in the 11th century A.D. cowries were used in daily transactions.[95] That the lowest denomination of the prevailing currency of the same period was *tarataka*, is evident from Kalhana.[96] The use of cowrie prevailed in Jonaraja's time and he contrasts *kadi* with crore.[97] Another medium of exchange in early Kasmira was paddy or *dhanya*. In the *Rajatarangini* there are indications that in the 9th century A.D the land revenue of Kasmira was collected in the form of dhanya.[98] This however, does not prove conclusively that dhanya was a medium of exchange. But in the *Lakaprakasa kharis* of dhanya in fixed quantities are stated to be payments of rents, fines, wages etc. and are said to have been equivalent to *dinaras*.[99] The evidence of Kalhana coupled with the testimony of *Lokaprakasa* leaves little doubt that *dhanya* was a medium of exchange in some periods of

Kasmirian history.

Though definite evidence is lacking, still it is highly probable, that dhanya and cowrie shells were used as media of exchange in the valley from a very remote period. As everywhere in the world, so also in Kasmira, barter must have been the earliest stage of commercial transactions. But there were many disadvantages of the system and that might have led to the innovation of *dhanya* to be used as medium of exchange. *Dhanya* as medium of exchange had at least two distinct advantages. Firstly, it was an essential commodity and therefore, acceptable to all. Secondly, it had the quanty of being divisible into minutest portions. In a slightly later stage of economic life, cowries possibly came in use.

Many coins of the Indo-Greek and Scythian rulers have been recovered from different parts of Kasmira.[100] It is not unlikely that they were the earliest metallic currency of the valley.

From Kalhaṇa we learn that Kasmira formed apart of the far flung Kusana empire. During the Kusana period Kasmira seems to have had a bimetallic currency of gold and copper. The overland trade route, which were opened as a result of the Kusana conquest and to which Kasmira was a chief emporium, must have considerably enriched the valley and raised her economic standard to a high level. It was during this flourishing period that the Roman golds, being ultimately transformed into minted Kusana coins, became current in Kasmira. The gold coins appear to have been particularly adopted for carrying on trade with foreign countries, since foreign merchants usually would not accept anything but gold. The Copper coins were presumably the media of exchange in daily transactions.

After the fall of the Imperial Kusanas, most probably the Kidara Kusanas came to rule over the valley. Their coinage,

though following the main trend of the Kusana coins, was inferior to that, both in type and metal. The volume of coins circulated by the Kidara Kusanas also seems to be considerably less than that of their celebrated predecessors. The reason for this deterioration in Kidara Kusana coins is not far to seek. The high pitch of trade and commerce of Kusana period lowered down shortly after the disintegration of their empire. The disturbing raids of the Hunas over peaceful trade routes of Central Asia had started about the end of the 4th century A.D. The Huna inroads and the rise of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, which brought some parts of north-west India under their sway, must have affected the normal activities of trade and commerce with Central Asian territories and this probably reacted on the base gold coins of the Kidara Kusanas.

The rise of the Hunas, their conquest of parts of Central Asia, invasion of India and lastly occupation of Kasmira further worsened the economic condition of the valley. The overland trade-routes were disturbed and ultimately closed down. A landlocked territory, detached from the rest of the world, Kasmira under the Hunas was an impoverished country. Probably gold and base gold coins of the Kusanas and Kidara Kusanas went out of circulation during this period.

The next coinage of Kasmira was of copper, struck by Toramana, who in all probability seems to have ruled over Kasmira in the 6th century A.D. The Toramana type of copper coins continued to be in circulation for a long period; they were found to be used in daily transactions even as late as the time of the Muslim rule.[101] These coins seem to have been struck in a large number probably up to the beginning of the Karkota period, by different kings who ruled m the valley and were in circulation in the kingdom of Kasmira for a still longer period. One of the kings, Pravarasena (c.580 A.D.),

struck coins of gold and silver. But the economic condition of the country was not favourable to a gold or silver currency and the valley of Kasmira seems to have been linked with a copper currency shortly after his death.

The Karkotas, who came to rule over Kasmira in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., struck coins of copper, not of the Toramana type, but of a type of their own. In addition to the copper money, they stuck coins of mixed which contained gold, silver and copper in different proportions. This mixed metal coin of the Karkotas is generally known by the name of electrum.

It appears that by the beginning of the 7th century A.D. when the Huna inroads had subsided, the old trade route of Central Asia were partially reestablished and Kasmira's commercial links with her neighbours were restored. Due to the rise of the Muslim power with whom she had a strained relation, her trade with western countries must have hampered. But now she appears to have found a market at China and at Tibet and also in some provinces of India. The commerce and trade with neighbouring countries may be presumed to have enriched the Karkota Kasmira, the result of which was reflected not only on the magnificent temples and buildings of Martanda, Parihasakesava and Ramasvami but perhaps also upon the coinage of the valley which was no longer of copper only; gold and silver along with copper had come to be used in the mints of the Karkotas.

The Karkotas could maintain the high economic standard for a short period only. The conquering expeditions of Lalitaditya and his grand-son Jayapida were probably responsible for the creation of an Indian market for Kasmira goods. But the later weak Karkotas, who stepped into their shoes, were unable to maintain the traditions of their great predecessors. Indian markets were presumably closed down

with the rise of other north Indian powers. Trade with immediate neighbours of the west and north was brought to an end when these countries came under the standards of Islam.

If Samkaravarman's (A.D. 883-902) identity with Yasovarman be accepted (*See journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol XVII, 1951, pp. I-3), then in the post-Karkota period, he must be given the credit of bringing back mixed gold coins once more in circulation. But the economic condition of the country not being favourable, the monarch's attempt to introduce mixed metal currency anew seems to have ultimately failed.

With the exception of the reign of Harsa, from the time of Samkaravarman down to the end of the Hindu rule, Kasmira had a coinage of copper alone. There were indeed gold reserves in the valley. In Kalhana's Chronicle one finds king Yasaskara retiring with a treasure of 2000 pieces of gold.[102] During the reign of Ananta, acquisition of gold was the popular form of investment (R. T., VII, 211-2 12), Sussala is recorded to have transmitted gold ingots to his treasury in the Lohara castle in order to hoard there the wealth he collected by oppressive fiscal system.[103] In Damodaragupta's *kuttanimata kavya* and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* there are innumerable instances of the use of golden ornaments. But from the 9th century onwards whatever gold the Kasmirians possessed, they seem to have kept that either in the form of bullion or in ornaments. There is no evidence that gold coins any longer were in circulation.

The reason for the withdrawal of gold coins is not far to seek. It may be presumed that gold coins were particularly needed for payment to foreign merchants who would not accept coins of any other metal.[104] Now when trade with foreign countries came almost to a stop, gold coins were no longer required. Whatever little trade was going on with

China and Tibet, could be paid back by gold bullions[105] or it could be carried on by cowrie shells, the use or which in early Kasmira is vouchsafed from Ksemendra.[106] It is, therefore, nothing strange, that from the beginning of the 10th century A.D. onwards Kasmira had a coinage of copper only. Moreover, inspite of the reference in the pages of Kalhana to copper mines of Kasmira from which coppers were regularly extracted and were minted into coins[107], it is not known for certain whether there was any gold mine in the valley. Probably there was none. All gold appears to have poured from outside into the valley by the way of trade and commerce when trade and commerce with foreign countries ceased, the entry of gold from outside territories also stopped. This also may account for the absence of gold in the coins of Kasmira from the 10th century onwards.

Another cause for the withdrawal of gold coins from the markets of Kasmira, from the 10th century onwards, must be sought in the operation of the general economic law which declares that when coins of more than one metal are in circulation, the Coins of the less valuable metal invariably drive away the coins of the more valuable metal from the market. In other words, bad money always drives away the good. Now during the Karkota period and even sometimes after that, copper coins were in circulation in Kasmira side by side with mixed metal coins, which had in them an appreciable quantity of gold. The disturbed economic state of the country in the last days of the Karkota regime, probably witnessed the proper linking of the coins of two different metals coming to an end, as a result of which minted mental coins came to be appreciated in preference to the copper coins. Under such condition, it would have been the natural tendency of the people to get better metal coin and discard the inferior other, which resulted in the withdrawal of all mixed metal coins from the market of Kasmira. In the end of

the 11th century A.D king Harsa tried to circulate gold and silver coins, but he failed, presumably due to the operation of the Gresham's economic law.

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87. *Kasmiradesaje ksetre kumkumam yadbhaveddhi tat |*
Suksamakesaramaraktam padmagandhi taduttamam ||
Bahlikaadesasanjatam kumkumam panduram bhavet |
Ketakigandhayuktam tanmadhyamam suksakesaram ||
Kumkumam Parasike yat madhugandhi tadiritam |
Isatpanduravarnam tadahamam sthulakesaram ||

88. If Ksemendra is to believed, salt was a luxury in Kasmira at his time and generally common people had to go without it; *Narmamala*,I, 127.
89. *R. T.*, VIII, 1221.
90. *Kuttanimata Kavya* (R.A.S.B.ed), 343
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99. Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVIII, pp. 346, 378.
100. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo- Scythians*, p. 44; Buhler, *Rep* p. 18; Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p.50.
101. Coins of Toramana were discovered along with the coins of Muslim Sultans of Kasmira at Avantipura, *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, pp. 50-51. Srivara testifies to the circulation of Toramana coins as late as the 15th Century A.D.; Srivara's chronicle, iii, 213.
102. *R .T.*, VI, 102-103.
103. *R .T.*, VIII, 639
104. The coins of the Karkotas were not gold, they were of electrum. But these were circulated apparently with the intention of using them as gold coins. They might be accepted by foreign merchants at a discount ratio, according to the proportion of copper and silver mixed to them.
105. In the early days of the Muslim rule in Kasmira, bullion appears as a medium of exchange (Jonaraja, 1077 sq., Bombay ed). It is likely that bullion took the place of minted coins in as earlier period too, specially in commercial transactions with foreign countries.
106. *Kalavilasa*, II, 5,7; *Samayamatrka*, VIII, 80.
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CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION

The social set up of a country is partially reflected in its contemporary administrative system which does never entirely depend on the whims and caprices of an individual ruler, however great he might be. In the history of civilization societies were born earlier than States; and in the life of man the society comes first and the State next. But the two are closely interlinked, as our thought and action are interlinked and each modifies the other in a mysterious and imperceptible way. A thought acquaintance with the administration of a State leads a good deal to the study of its social background. No set formulas can determine once for all the mode of a country's government; the exigencies of time and place are amongst the most important factors. The change in the ideas and ideals of a nation inevitably brings in a change in the social sphere which in its turn modifies the political machinery set up by the king as the representative of the people. To know ancient Kasmira system of government would be to know something of its social make-up.

No work on polity delineates the art of Government of ancient Kasmira. Nor is there any inscription which can be utilized to trace the origin and development of her administrative

machinery. All that we have, in case of Kasmira, include a few literary sources which in themselves do not deal with the administration of the country, but incidentally furnish some scattered informations which help us to get up an idea of it.

I

Nothing definite is known of the administrative machinery of Kasmira as it worked in the dawn of history. Perhaps it started with some tribal patriarchal or matriarchal type of self-government as found in the history of many other parts of the world. For lack of concert evidence, no assertion can be made on the point.

If Hiuen Tsang and Kalhana are to be believed, Kasmira was included in Asoka empire. Possibly the Maurya system of administration was in vogue at the time. Kalhana, however, gives the credit of the introduction of new administrative measures in Kasmira, not to Asoka, but to his son Jalauka. According to him, upto the time of Jalauka the government of Kasmira was of the same type as that of other States. There were seven chief officials: the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the envoy, the *purohita* and the astrologer. Jalauka increased the number of offices *(karmasthana)* into eighteen and by this act inaugurated the constitutional system of Yudhisthira.[1] Kalhana is silent about the names of the eighteen offices which were created by Asoks's son. Some scholars think that these eighteen offices evidently correspond to the eighteen *tirthas* or court officials mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, viz., *mantrin, purohita, yuvanja, senapati, dvarapala, antarvesika, karagaradhikarin, dravyasancayakrt, samnidhatr, Pradestr, nagaradhyaksa, karyanirmanakrt, dharmadhyak, sa, sabhadhyaksa, dandapati, durgapala, rastrantapala,* and *atavipala*.[2] In the absence of any corroborative evidence, it is difficult to say how far the administrative informations supplied by Kalhana, for the period prior to Jalauka's accession, as well as of his

new innovations in the legal administration of the country, tally to real facts.

Kalhana says that the eighteen *karmasthanas* created by Jalauka existed+ upto the time of Lalitaditya.[3] He also mentions the names of few of the minor offices which had come into existence in the meantime. One of these was the office of the *asvaghsakayastha* (fodderer for the horses), a position held for sometime by Durlabhavardhana.[4] Another was that of the *nagaradhipa* (city prefect)[5]. Kalhana speaks of the city prefect of Candrapida's time named Calitakà as *sarvadhikaranasthairyocchetta*.[6] The exact meaning of this Sanskrit term is not clear and it is difficult to say whether it had anything to do with an official of the State.

II

The Karkota king Lalitaditya seems to have made some Improvement of the existing administrative machinery of the state. He is said to have create five new function aries of high status, viz., mahapratiharapida, *mahasamdhivigraha*, *mahasvasala*, *mahabhandagara* and *mahasadhanabhaga*.[7] The five *karmasthanas* taken together was known by the name of *pancamahasabda* and this title was assumed by the officer presiding over all these departments.[8] Thus Mitrasarman who was at first merely a *samdhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war, had the title of *pancamahasabda* bestowed upon him by king Lalitaditya as a token of his faithful service.[9] During the reign of Jayapida, a minister named Jayadatta held the office of the *pancamahasabda*.[10] In the last days of the Karkota regime, when the maternal uncles of the weak ruler Cippata Jayapida had come to share with the young king the sway over Kasmira, the eldest of them, Utpalaka, took the office of the *pancamahasabda* while his other brothers seized the other offices.[11] According to some scholars the term *pancamahasabda* as used in the *Rajatarangini* does not signify any particular

office, but is merely an honorific title bestowed upon them who could make public appearance with the playing of five musical instruments.[12] The term *pancamahasabda*, as used in the Kanarese inscriptions and perhaps also in the Gupta inscriptions, may be interpreted in that light, as identical with *pancamahavadya*, but in the, valley of Kasmira, it was undoubtedly a term which had the meaning of five *karmasthanas*.[13]

Jayapida added two more offices to the existing administrative machinery. One of these was the *dharmadhikarana*, apparently the department of justice,[14] and the other was the office of the *calaganja* (moving treasury).[15] The creation of a mobile exchequer became necessary to serve on expeditions when the king's own treasury (*ganja*) was far away.[16]

In the *Rajatarangini* we come across the name of an accounts office called *seda* during the last days of the Karkota regime. According to Kalhana, Ajitapida, a king, obtained food and dress from the income of the fifth account offce, which received, the surplus from the other four accounts offices, called *seda* etc.[17] Kalhana does not mention the names of other four accounts offices, but, if the glossator Bhatta Haraka is to be believed, they were named as *salasthula*, *namelyanaka*, *mithana* and *navagramadi*[18]. These names were not current in Mughal times when Bhatta Haraka wrote his glossess; he probably copied these terms from some earlier source. As regards the administrative function of the *seda* office, no information is available.

Kalhana's account throws some light on the central administrative machinery of the Karkota period but it does not tell us anything about the town or village administration of the time. Though the poet-historian mentions the name of city-prefect of Candrapida's time, yet the functions of this office are not made out clearly. Damodaragupta's *Kuttanimata Kavyam* written during the Karkota king Jayapida's reign

however, tends to show that *nagaraprabhus* were censor of morals and collectors of fines from the prostitutes for violation of State prescribed moral laws.[19] It was possibly one of the various duties which the *nagaradhyaksas* had to perform in connection with the administration of the towns.

III

The Utpala period marks further increase in the number of State offices, particularly in the department of revenue and taxation. The two new administrative departments created by Samkaravarman were *attapatibhaga* (the office charged with share of the law of the market) and *grhakrtya* (office concerned with domestic affairs).[20] The first was probably concerned with the collection of taxes on market shops, artificiers, etc. About the function and organisation of the second office during Samkaravarman's time, all that we learn from the *Rajatarangini* is that it was placed in charge of a treasurer (*ganjavara*) and five secretaries (*divira*) and that Samkaravarman collected revenue for this office by deducting or adding to the due weights, by fines on the villages and similar other imposts.[21] Kalhana gives a detailed account of the fiscal exactions made by *Samkaravarman*. It is said that he took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal wood and other articles of worhsip on the plea that they were the king's legal share of the selling price. Then again, he plundered straightway sixty-four temples under pretext of exercising supervision over them. He resumed the villages belonging to the temples after paying compensatory allowances (*pratikara*) to their possessors. And when paying the compensatory allowance, he reduced the weight of the scales by one-third. He put down all opposition by saying that the deductions were made on account of food-supply, cost of woollen cloaks, etc., and that the temple *parisads* were still receiving more than their due annual allowance. Lastly,

Samkaravarman introduced for the first time the well known system of forced carriages of loads (*rudhabharodhi*) which was of thirteen kinds.[22] When the villagers failed to carry the loads, he fined them for one year the value of the load calculated according to the highest price in the region concerned. After that he fined in the same way all the villagers enroute to the destination without any fault of their own.[23] The two new revenue offices created by Samkaravarman were evidently required to collect the taxes obtained from such financial exactions.

The kingdom of Kasmira seems to have reached à financial crisis as a result of Samkaravarman's unsuccessful foreign expeditions and the king was led to adopt these new methods of exaction to replenish the exhausted treasury. Kalhana also speaks in the same strain, 'Losing most of his treasure by the distractions to which he abandoned himself, he carried off again and again, by skilfully designed exactions, whatever the gods and others owned.[24]

The special methods of taxation adopted by Samkaravarman, however, were abandoned by the rulers who followed him, but they retained some of the new revenue offices established by him of which the *Grhakrtya* was one.

The poet historian of Kasmira says that by levying contributions for, the monthly pay of the *skandakas* and *gramakayasthas*, Samkaravarman drove the villagers to poverty.[25] The exact meaning of the word *skandaka* is not known, though this officer seems to have existed even as late as the time of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063). [26] Stein considers him to be 'the village headman, the modern Muquaddam or Lambardar, who as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenue, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration'.[27] The functions of the *gramakayastha* also are not stated in the *Rajatarangini*. But Stein thinks that he is in all probability the official ancestor of the present Patwari. The

latter is the village accountant, who keeps the papers showing the area of the holdings of the villagers, with their revenue assessment, etc.[28] In one passage of his book the poet-historian of Kasmira relates that when the Tantrins were enjoying supreme power in the kingdom, the kings of Kasmira were in their service and tried to oust each other like *gramakayasthas*, by offering greater and greater bribes (*R. T.*, V, 265). From this passage it is clear that the posts of the *gramakayashas* in ancient Kasimra were not stable and they used to oust each other by offering greater and greater bribes, presumably to the authority, who appointed them.

Though the names of the *skandakas* and *gramakasyasthas* are first met with in the reign, of Samkaravarman, these posts, which were not created by him, evidently existed from an ancient period. It is significant that Samkaravarman paid the wages of these officers from contributions levied on the villagers. In earlier times their wages seem to have been paid from other heads of income, presumably from the king's exchequer.

The only other functionary of Samkaravarman's time, known to us, is *dvaradhipaor* lord of the gates (*R.T.*, V, 214). He was undoubtedly the officer in charge of the defence of the passes (*dvara*) leading into Kasmira. The powers and duties of this officer, who has been mentioned variously as *dvarapati*, *dvaresa*, *dvaradhikarin* and *dvaranayaka* may be seen from a number of passages occurring in different *tarangas* of Kalhana's work. These passages will be discussed later on in connection with the administrative development of the valley.

The *grhakrtya* office, which was created by Samkaravarman, is again found in the reign of Cakravarman (A.D. 935) where it is said that the king placed one of his favourites called Sambhuvardhana, in charge of the grhakrtya (*R. T.*, V, 301). The officer in charge of the *grhakrtya*, was thus an important functionary of the State, who received his appointment direct

from the king. Another important office of this period was the *aksapatala*.[29] The superintendent of this office, like the officer in charge of the *grhakrtya*, was also directly appointed by the king.[30] Regarding the functions of the *aksapatala*, all that can be gleaned from the *Rajatarangini* is that it was an office where land grants were executed by the recorder of official documents (*pattopadhyaya*),[31] and that the Ekanga soldiers were appointed in this office from which they received their pay.[32] The glossator Bhatta Haraka explains *aksapatala* as the *gananadhipatisthana*[33] (office of the accountant-general), a meaning which receives partial corroboration from the can text of the *Rajatarangini*.

In the period of the Utpalas, we also come across the name of an officer called *kampanadhipati*.[34] Stein's correct interpretation of the word as commander-in-chief (*R.T*, Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 232) sets at rest all speculations about the meaning of the term.[35]

The period ranging from the fall of the Utpalas to the rise of the Lohara dynasty, shows a gradual development of the administrative system. Among the names of the officials met with in this period, there are *sarvadhikara, mandalesa, kampanesa, nagaradhikrta, dvarapati, ganjesa* and *adhikaranalekhaka*.

The name *mukhyamantri* which about the end of the Utpala period denoted the prime-minister of the State is henceforth changed into the title of *sarvadhikara* (charge of all offices).[36] That the terms *sarvadhikara* and *mukhyamantri* are identical, is clear from some of the passages of the *Rajataranigi*.[37] *Sarvadhikara's* position was 'above everybody' and he was directly chosen by the ruler.[38]

The term *mandalesa* first occurs in the *Rajatarangini* in connection with the reign of Yasaskara.[39] Though his duties are not specified there, a comparison with some of the passages of the last two books of the *Rajatarangini* clearly shows that he was the governor in charge of a province.

The *kampanesa*, also called *kampanadhipati*, *kalnpanapati* etc. continued to be one of the highest functionaries of the State during this period.[40] His expeditions carried out against neighbouring rulers strengthens the view expressed by Stein that he was the commander-in-chief.

Nagaradhikrta is the designation given by Kalhana to the city-prefect of Yasaskara's time.[41] He seems to be the same officer as nagaradhipa of the Karkota period. In the Karkota period the officer was probably, as we have seen, in charge of the supervision of moral conduct of the citizens. Now we find him as a revenue officer. Thus Kalhana relates that king Yasaskara made a pile of money through four city-prefects who helped themselves in turn to money and were hanging about each others back.[42] Evidently Yasaskara appointed four prefects in order to increase his revenue by the contributions which they had to offer in competition. Bhuyya, a contemporary city-prefect of queen Didda, is said to have encouraged the queen in her religious edifications.[43] It is not possible to say definitely if the *nagaradhikrta* was also in charge of public works and buildings of the city.

Several references to *dvarapati* during the period shows that he was a high functionary of the State and was used to undertake military operations.[44] *Ganjesa* was the title of the officer in charge of the treasury.[45] A person named Sindhu founded a separate revenue office called *sindhuganja* during the reign of queen Didda, for which special sources of revenue were assigned. [46]

The *adhikaranalekhaka* appears to be an official recorder.[47] According to the glossator Bhatta Haraka, he is the official in whose presence the sale of a piece of land is concluded and who after measuring the land draws up the deed.[48] The glossator's explanation receives corroboration from the context of the *Rajatarangini*.

V

Under the Lohara dynasties, the administrative system of Kasmira becomes more elaborate, with various departments and graded officials.

As in the preceding periods, the prime officer of the State was the *sarvadhikara* (chief minister). During the reign of Ananta, this office was held by Haladhara.[49] He was succeeded by Jayananda in the next reign.[50] Among others who occupied this post Kalhana mentions Vamana, Bimba, Srngara and Gauraka.[51] From Kalhana's account of these *sarvadhikaras* it appears that they were second to none in the kingdom except the king. At times the prime minister dictated the policy of the State and if the king was weak or ineffective it was he who exercised the supreme power of the Government.

During the Lohara period, the whole kingdom of Kasmira was divided into several *rajyas* for administrative purposes. The *rajyas* were divided into several *visayas* and the *visayas* again were further sub-divided into *gramas* or villages.

The kingdom of Kasmira was divided into two major units, Kramarajya and Madavarajya from an early time. In the Lohara period a third *rajya* was added to them, the kingdom of the Lohara. A governor appears to have been placed over each of these administrative units with the title of *mandalesa* or *mandalesvara*. One Ananda was the *mandalesa* of Madavarajya during the reign of Harsa. [52] Among the governors of the Lohara kingdom, Kalhana mentions the names of Kandarpa, Bhagika, Preman and Harsata.[53]

Both Kramarajya and Madavarajya were sub-divided into a number of *visayas*, which correspond to the *parganas* of the modern times. The names of the ancient *visyas* so far known, have been referred to in Chapter I, and need not be re-stated here.

If Ksemendra is to be believed, the officer at the head of the *visayas* was *margapati*. His function as such was the

supervision of the *visaya* and the villages lying within it, checking of their accounts and inspection of roads. The name *margapati* probably originated from his last named duty. He also appears to be an executive officer with magisterial powers to decide civil and criminal cases. [54]

The village administration was carried on by the *gramadivira*. His seems to have been the duty of the keeping of papers showing the area of the holding of the villagers with their revenue, assessment etc. According to Ksemendra, he could be appointed or dismissed by the *margapati*.[55] This tends to corroborate Kalhana's statement regarding the *gramakayasthas* of the former periods, who ousted each other by giving greater and greater bribes to the authority responsible for their appointments.

The administrative machinery of the Lohara period appears to have been divided into several departments of which at least three, the departments of revenue, judiciary and the army are clearly recognisable.

The head of the revenue administration was the officer called the *grhakrtyadhipati* or *grhakrtyadhikarin* or *grhakrtyamahattama*. It seems from Ksemendra that this post, which was created at the time of Samkaravarman, had become one of the most important offices in his time and it was the highest ambition of every revenue officer to occupy this position. All domestic expenses, such as grants to temples, Brahmanas, the poor and the strangers, grants for the fodder of the domestic animals and salaries of royal servants could be incurred only with his consent. Seven officers worked in his office and he had the prerogative of having officers under him to his own choice.[56]

Kalhana mentions a class of officers called *mahattama* whose status and functions are not clearly stated. [57] It is not unlikely that this is an abbreviated form of the *grhakrtya mahattama*.

According to Ksemendra the revenue officer next to the *grhakrtyamahattama* was the *paripalaka*. He seems to have collected taxes from the villagers. He is also said to have ravaged temples for filling up the royal treasury which is undoubtedly a continuation of the policy once started by Samkaravarman.[58] The clerk-in-chief of *paripalaka* was called *lekhakopadhyaya*. He was in charge of the confidential official records. Ksemendra describes him as a tremendous writer who can draft two hundred documents at a time and can issue them atonce. He also possessed a thorough knowledge of accountancy.[59] Another officer, *ganjadivira*, who worked under the *paripalaka* was the superintendent of finance having control over the treasury. He seems to be the same officer as Kalhana calls by the name of *ganjavara* or *ganjesa*. [60] According to Ksemendra he prepares a budget of income and expenditure for six months and submits it before his master *paripalaka*, which, after his approval, is given effect to.[61]

Another officer of the revenue department was probably the *saulkika* who was posted on the frontier routes and collected customs duties over commodities coming and going through the watch stations.[62]

In the judicial department, the highest officer was the *rajasthana* or *rajasthanadhikara*.[63] A critical study of the passage of the *Ragatarangini* dealing with this officer tends to show that he was probably the chief-justice of the kingdom. Below the chief-justice, there were other subordinate judges who appear to be denoted by the term *tantrapati*.[64] *Rajasthaniyamantrinah* and *rajagrhyas* mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* may also stand for subordinate judicial officers (*R. T.*, VII, 150 I, VIII; 756).

In the war office, the foremost officer was the *kampanadhipati* (also called *kampanesa, kampanadhipa*, etc.) who, as in the preceding periods, held the position of the commander-in-chief. [65] Another important officer was the

dvaradhipa (also called *dvarapati* etc.)[66] whom we have met as early as the Utpala period. Kalhana clearly points out that in the Lohara period he was in charge of the defence of the passes leading into Kasmira and had a general command over the watch stations established on them. In one place of the *Rajatarangini* it is said, that the charge of the *dvara* required soldierly qualities and implied rough duties.[67] Bimba, who held charge as lord of the gate, lost his life in fight with the Khasa who lived immediately to the south and west of the Kasmira valley.[68] Kandarpa, who was the *dvaradhikara* of king Kalasa and Harsa, kept himself constantly engaged in war with Rajapuri. He also tried to prevent the escape of a rebel prince Vijayamalla from Kasmira by closing every route.[69] Udaya, who held the position of lord of the gate under king Jayasimha, harassed the enemy forces of Lohara by continuous attacks.[70] The great importance attached by the ancient Kasmirians on the defence of the frontier passes can also be marked from Alberuni's (11th century A.D.) account. Speaking of his contemporary Kasmirians he says that 'they are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and, therefore, take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence, it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people'.[71] The person in charge of the gates must naturally have been a very responsible military officer of the State and in the *Rajatarangini* he is ranked along with *kampanesa* and other highest officials. Throughout the *Rajatarangini* successive lords of the gate exercise military duites and we never find Kalhana mentioning more than one person holding that post at the same time. This clearly shows that this office could be held by only one

person at a time. The Kasmirians had very wisely realised the value of unified control of frontier stations under an able man.

Under the lords of gates, there was an important class of military officers, charged with the defence of the watch stations. They were called *drarngadhipa* (master of the watch stations).[72]

Theirs were the duties of guarding the approaches to the valley.[73]

Among other officers of the Lohara regime, mention may be made of the city-prefect (*nagaradhipa, nagaradhikrta*). He was charged with various duties. Fines were imposed by the city-prefects on the house-holders in case of immoral conduct on the part of a married women[74]. He punished the persons who had carnal intercourse with dancing girls, received Into house-holds as wedded wives.[75] Apparently, the *nagaradhipa* was censor of morals.[76] The maintenance of law and order of the city seems to be one of his duties, and one of the city-prefects, Vijayasimha distinguished himself during the reign of Kalasa by suppressing all thieves.[77] In times of emergency the *nagaradhipa* had to perform some military duties In connection with the defence of the town. The town-prefect Naga was in charge of large force and was entrusted with the defence of the city, when Sussala and Ueeala attacked king Harsa.[78] Another city-prefect, Janaka was called by Sussala to suppress a revolt of his troops, which broke out in the city. (*R.T.*, VIII, 814).

Dandanayaka or *dandadhikarin* was perhaps the chief of the police department.[79] *Mahattara* might have been an officer belonging to the personal staff of the king.[80] There was a regular system of espionage and the spies were called by such names as *cakrika, pisuna* and *pumscalaka*.[81]

The increased number of officials and presence of various small administrative department indicate the State

interference over individually and properties. The reasons for the growth and development of the bureaucracy In the Lohara period have already been discussed in the chapter on social history and need not repeated here.

The administrative machinery of the post-Lohara period, on the whole, seems to be the same as in the preceding period. Jonarja mention the designations of some of the officers whom we meet in the *Rajatarangini*. But the informations supplied by him are too scanty to give a connected picture of the administrative system of the last days of the Hindu rule.

The relation between the State and different classes of people have been dealt in other chapters. A few general observations about the administrative system of ancient Kasmira, however, may be made here.

It seems that the king of Kasmira was an absolute ruler in the true sense of the term. Divinity was attributed to him. According to the *Rajatarangini*, the king was a part and parcel of Lord Siva.

Kasmirah parvati tatra raja gneyo sivamsayah |
Navagneyah sa dustohapi vidusa bhutirmicchhata ‖

(R. T., I, 72)

Tile *Nilamatapurana* expresses the same view.

Kasmirayam tatha raja tvaya jneyo haramsajah |
Tasyavajna na kartavya satatam bhutim icchata ‖

(Nilamata, ed. DeVreese, 237).

The *Mahavastuavadana* of the Buddhists contains the details of the election of a king who, on being hailed by all as the lord, is called Sarva Mahasakhyo. The same note is echoed in the *Rajatarangini*. The king is a great Sakya (*Mahasakya*). He can not be hurt by a man. He is also the source of all light.

Mahasakyah sa nrpatih

na sakyo badhitum tvaya |
Tasmindrste tu kalyani
bhavita te tamahksayah | | (*R. T.*; I, 141)

But though the king was regarded as a part and parcel of God and though in theory his powers were unlimited, there was always some sort of practical check over his authority. The first check was supplied by the chief minister and other ministers, whose will, as is evident from the *Rajatarangini*, the king could not wholly ignore. If Kalhana is to be believed, their opinion was to be solicited in case of the selection of a new monarch. In the legendary period, at least two kings, Meghavahana and Matrgupta, were placed on the throne of Kasmira by the ministers.[82] Then queen Sugandha (A.D. 904-906) wanted to invest some fit person with the royal power, she had to seek the permission of the ministers.[83] Before his death king Yasaskara (A.D. 939-48) also had to consecrate Varnata as king with the approval of the minister.[84]

A second check on the king's power was furnished by the *purohita* corporation of the kingdom who resorted to hunger-strikes (*Prayopavesana*), whenever any action taken by the king went against their own interest or against the interest of the country. During the interregnum after Suravarman II (A.D. 939), it was their hunger-strike which forced the Brahmanas of the valley to select Yasaskara as the king of Kasmira.[85] In the reign of queen Didda (A.D. 980/81-1003), we find the Brahmanas holding fast for removing Tunga, the sarvadhikara, from his office.[86] To bring about the fall of Tunga, the Brahmanas and the *purohitas* of sacred shrines started a solemn fast in the reign of Samgramaraja (A.D. 1003-1028).[87] King Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101) had to exempt the members of the *purohita* corporation from the forced carriage of loads as they undertook *prayopavesana*[88] Once king Sussala (A.D.II-12-20) neglected his princely duties, whereupon all his

good officers deserted him and the *Damaras* started oppressing the people. The Brahmanas seeing no other alternative resorted to fast to bring the king to his senses.[89] Thus kings were often compelled to take measures they did not like.[90]

A third check on the king's autocracy was provided by the growing power of the Damaras, the nature of which has been fully discussed in the chapter on society.

In the historical period at least, we do not meet with any ruler of Kasmira, who tries to determine a new administrative set up for the country. There were some, no doubt, who made additions and alterations here and there but no genius, who could usher an overhaul change into the system, ever sprang up.

The king of Kasmira was certainly the chief patron of the State, of the society, of the religion and of the culture, but he did not create them. On the other hand he was throughout guided by the age-old customs, usages and traditions.

The administrative machinery of ancient Kasmira was well-developed, organized and efficient. But that does not mean that all the officers of the State were honest and dutiful. In fact both Ksemendra and Kalhana, our principal authorities on early Kasmirian history, are eloquent in speaking of the systematic oppressions which were carried all by the Kayasthas (officers of the Government) in different periods.[91] The powerful Damaras, the wealthy merchants and other richer sections of the society were more or Jess free from their exactions. But the common man, the tiller of the soil and the humble worker, had to bear the brunt of their inhuman exactive measures.

The State was not conscious about the poverty and wants of the poorer sections. Personally some of the kings might have donated *agraharas* to the Brahmanas and bestowed wealth upon some of their favourites to remove their economic disabililty, but the State did not take any responsibility for the

poverty-striken people and never tried to ameliorate their lot. Perhaps the poverty and distress in the lower stratum of the society were natural outcomes of a feudal bureaucratic system.

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19. Kuttanimata *Kavya*, R.A.S.B. ed., verse 400.
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52. *R. T.*, VII, 1304.
53. *R. T.*, VII, 996, VIII, 1222, 1631, 2029.
54. *Narmamala* (ed. M. Kaul), I, 97,127.
55. *Ibid.*, I, 128, 140.
56. *id.*, I, 32, 50; R. T., VII, 42.
57. *R. T.*, VII, 438, 1106, I 170, 1 I 76, VIII, 440, 560.
58. *Narmamala*, I, 62-70.
59. *Ibid.*, I, 71 -82.
60. *Ibid.*, I, 83; *R. T.*, V, 177, VIII, 473.
61. *Narmamala*, I, 83-96.
62. *Samayamatrka*, II, 102; *R. T.*, VII, 2010.
63. *R.T.*, VIII, 601, VIII, 181, 1046, 1982, 2618,2624.
64. The term *tantrapati* occurs only once in the *Rajatarangini* (*R. T.*,

VIII, 2422) Where his functions are not clearly stated.Any doubt as to the meaning of the term, however, is set at rest by the explanation of Jonaraja, who distinctly mentions 'brhattantrapati' as a '*dharmadhikarin*' or judge.

65. *R. T.*, VII, 154, 267, 365, 399, 579, 887, 923, 1319, 1362, 1366, VIII, 177, 180, 627, 647, 652, 685, 698, 860, 960, 1046, 1624, 1659, 1660, 2190, 2205, 2420, 2758, 2807, 2868, 3322.
66. *R. T.*, VII, 216, 223, 364, 576, 578, 584, 595, 887, 912, 995, 1172, 1177, 1178, 1301,1319,1361; VIII, 21,178,179,185,293,301, 573, 633, 756, 790, 1042, 1482, 1832, 1927, 1963, 2090, 2254, 2354, 2421, 2487, 2493, 2501, 2526, 2662, 2788, 2844, 2852, 2894, 2937.
67. *R.T.*, VIII, 422.
68. *R. T.*, VII, 216-217.
69. *R. T.*, VII, 576, 912, 971.
70. *R.T.*, VIII, 1832, 1927, 2281.
71. *India* (tr. Sachau), XVIII, p. 206.
72. *R. T.*, VIII, 1578.
73. *R. T.*, VII, 1352; VIII, 2507, 2702, 2803.
74. *R. T.*, VIII, 3336.
75. *R. T.*, VIII, 3338.
76. The *nagaradhikrtas* seem to be censor of morals in the Karkota period too; *Kuttanimata Kavya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 400.
77. *R. T.*, VII, 580.
78. *R. T.*, VII, 1542.
79. *R. T.*, VII, 591, VIII, 640.
80. *R. T.*, VII, 659.
81. *Narmamala* (ed. M. Kaul), p. 6.
82. *R. T.*, III, 2, 233-240.
83. *R. T.*, V, 250.
84. *R. T.*, VI, 90-91.
85. *R. T.*, V, 468.
86. *R. T.*, VI, 336-343.
87. *R. T.*, VII, 13.
88. *R. T.*, VII, 1088.
89. *R. T.*, VIII, 658.
90. For other similar instances see *R. T.*, VIII, 768 sqq., 2733.
91. *Narmamala*, I; *R.T.*, IV, 62r-630, V, 181, 184; 439: VII, 1226, VIII, 85-87 etc.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

The earliest inhabitants of Kasmira probably cherished some aboriginal beliefs, the details of which are not traceable now. The snake-cult or Naga-worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. In the third century B.C., Buddhism seems to have made some headway into Kasmira, converted a large number of people and overshadowed the Naga cut which ultimately sunk into oblivion. Among Hindu gods, Siva either originated or entered the valley sometime before the faith of the Sakya prince made its entrance and was later followed by Visnu, Surya and other Brahminical gods and goddesses. A brief history of the different types of religious cults and beliefs of early Kasmira, may be sketched as follows.

NAGA-WORSHIP

Kasmira was one of the principal centres of serpent-worship in India. Though detailed evidence is lacking, there is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very early period.

Regarding the exact date when the snake-cult was prevalent in the land, no direct testimony is available. But there are reasons to believe that in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., it might have been the principal religion of Kasmira. In the *Mahavamsa*, it is said that Asoka's adviser Moggaliputta Tissa sent Majjhantika to preach Buddhism in Kasmira. When the *sramana* reached the valley, he found that Aravala, the king of the Nagas, was ruling over it. Aravala was destroying the corns of the country by hail storm. Majjhantika, however, due to his divine powers remained unaffected from rains and storms. This made the Naga king furious who sent lighting and struck rocks against the Buddhist monk in order to kill him. But all these went in vain. Then convinced of the great powers of Majjhantika, the Naga king Aravala together with his followers submitted before the monk and accepted Buddhism. This was followed by the conversion into Buddhism of a large number of Naga worshippers of Kasmira-Gandhara.[1]

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Ḳasmira in the 7th century A.D. relates that according to the native records, Kasmira was originally a dragon lake.[2] A very detailed and vivid account of how the *arhat* Madhyantika (apparently Majjhantika) rescued the valley of Kasmira from the Nagas, established there the religion of Buddha and settled 500 *arhats* in the country, has been preserved in the Chinese *Vinaya* of the Mula-Sarvastivadin sect.[3] The Tibetan scholar Bu-ston, who composed his famous history of Buddhism in the 14th century A.D., points out that when Madhyantika went to Kasmira to preach Buddhism, he found the Nagas presiding in the valley. They at first gave a tough opposition to Madhyantika, but at the end, the Buddhist monk succeeded in subduing the troublesome Nagas. [4]

That Naga-worship prevailed in early Kasmira receives confirmation not only from the accounts of Ceylon, China and Tibet but also from native literatures.

The *Nilamatapurana*, probably a work of the 7th or 8th century A.D., records at great length how Kasmira was created out of water and left to the care of the Nagas of whom Nila, the son of Kasyapa, was the chief. According to this work, in the beginning, human beings could dwell in the valley for six months of the year, i.e., during the summer. In winter, the land was occupied by the Pisacas and human beings had to leave the valley due to excessive cold. Once Nila was satisfied with a Brahmana called Candradeva and agreed at his prayer that men should be allowed to live in Kasmira during the winter also. The Naga king also disclosed to him the rites which were to be observed by the future human inhabitants if they were to live permanently in the valley.

Most of the rites prescribed by Nila are concerned with the nature of worship of popular deities. But there are some festivals which are particularly connected with the worship of Naga or serpent. Thus Nila was worshipped on the festival of the first snowfall. Nila and the Nagas were also propitiated on the *Iramanjaripuja* festivity which took place in the month of *Caitra*. Another ceremony called Varunapancami was held on the fifth day of *Bhadra* and was connected with the worship of serpent king Nila.

The *Nilamatapurana* also records the names of the principal Nagas worshipped in Kasmira, the total number of which was 527. The four *dikpalas* of Kasmira, mentioned by the author of the *Nilamatapurana* were four Nagas – Bindusara in the east, Srimadaka in the south, Elapatra in the west and Uttaramanasa in the north. From a remote period, great importance must have been attached to the worship of the Nagas as is shown by the long account of them given in the *Nilamatapurana*. A large number of temples, built near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the pilgrimages directed to them, clearly point out the popularity

of the Naga-cult in ancient Kasmira. The Nagas were supposed, according to the *Nilamatapurana*, to reside in the lakes and springs of the valley. Even now names of places like Vernag, Anantanag, Sernag, etc. show traces of ancient Naga beliefs.

That the Nagas were eminently popular deities in the happy valley, is also testified to by Kalahna's Chronicle. According to the *Rajataraitgini*, Kasmira was a land protected by Nila, the lord of all Nagas.[5] Even when Buddhism had undermined the Naga beliefs, one of its early kings Gonanda III is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship in honour of the Nagas, as they had been before.[6] There is also a story of Susravas Naga, and his alliance with a Brahmana is depicted with much details.[7] King Durlabhavardhana and his scions are ascribed to a family which, according to Kalhana, was Naga in its origin.[8] Naga Mahapadma, the tutelary deity of the Vular lake, is said to have showed king Jayapida, a mountain which yielded copper.[9] Another Naga called Pindaraka deluded the Darad chieftain Acalamangala, who attacked the happy valley during the reign of Ananta.[10] Among the festivals connected with the Naga-cult, Kalhana speaks of the annual festival in honour of the great serpent king Taksaka 'frequented by dancers and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators' which was celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of *Jyaistha*. [11] Ksemendra also refers to a Taksakayatra festival in his *Samayamatrka* (*Samayamatrka*, ii, 88).

That the Naga-cult prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards, seems to be corroborated by the account of Abul Fazal. He tells us that during the reign of Akbar (A.D.I556-I605) there were in Kasmira 45 places dedicated to the worship of Siva, 64 to Visnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Durga, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the

inhabitants worshipped. [12]

BUDDHISM

Buddhism seems to have obtained a footing in Kasmira as early as the 3rd century B.C. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa* preserves an account of the introduction of Buddhism in the valley by Majjhantika which has been already noted.[13] That Buddhism was first preached in Kasmira by Madhyantika and that he succeeded in making a large number of converts also receives confirmation from traditions recorded in the Tibetan work *Dul-va* [14] and the account of Hiuen Tsang.[15]

We learn from Kalhana that Kasmira formed a part of the empire of Asoka, who was a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha.[16] The emperor built in the valley numerous *stupas*,[17] some of which were existing as late as the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's visit.[18] The great emperor, who was zealous always in preaching and disseminating the religion of Buddha throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom and even beyond, seems to have tried his best to spread it in the secluded vale of Kasmira too.[19]

What happened to the state of Buddhism in Kasmira, after the death of Asoka, we do not know. Probably in the 1st century B.C., Kasmira came under the occupation of the Greek king Menander.[20] He was first a lay devotee of Buddha but afterwards left his throne, joined the Sangha and at last became an *arhant*. He created a *vihara* for his co-religionists which came to be known as Milindavihara, after the name of its founder.[21]

The Buddhism of Kasmira entered its golden phase under the patronage of the Kusana king Kaniska and his successors who came to occupy the valley about the end of the Ist century A.D. Kalhana mentions that three Turuska, i.e., Kusana kings, Huska, Juska and Kaniska ruled over Kasmira and founded three towns called Huskapura (mod. Huskur), Juskapura (mod.

Juskar) and Kaniskapura (mod. Kanespur).[22] These Kusana kings were given to acts of piety and built many *viharas*, *mathas*, *caityas* and similar other structures.[23] During their powerful rule, the land of Kasmira was, to a great extent, under the possession of the Bauddhas, who, by practising the law of religious mendicancy, had acquired great renown.[24]

That Kasmira was a great centre of Buddhism under the Kusanas receives further corroboration from the fact that the fourth Buddhist council took place in Kasmira under the auspices of Kaniska. At the end of the council, Hiuen Tsang informs us, several expository commentaries were written on the *Sutra*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidharma*. The original text and its explanation came to be known as *Upadesa-Sastra* and *Vibhasa-Sastra*. Kaniska had these treatises engraved on copper plates and deposited them at a *stupa*, apparently situated in Kasmira.[25]

Many great Buddhist scholars resided in Kasmira during the reign of the Kusanas. Of these, Kalhana mentions the name of Nagarjuna who resided at sadarahdvana, i.e., Harwan.[26] According to Chinese evidence Asvaghosa, Vasuvandhu, Vasumitra, Dharmatrata, Sanghabhadra, Jinatrata and many other scholars lived in Kasmira from the time of Kaniska onwards.[27]

The flourishing state of Buddhism in Kasmira at the end of the Kusana period and afterwards is testified to by archaeological evidence. The site of Harwan yields Buddhist *stupas*, bases of chapels, inscriptions containing the celebrated Buddhist creed *ye dharma*, etc. From the appearance of Kharosthi numerals on the brick tiles and from the Buddhist inscriptions written in Brahmi characters of about the 4th century A.D.; the Buddhist antiquarian objects of Harwan may be assigned to a period round about 300 A.D.[28] A number of terracotta figures, mainly busts or head of Buddha, Bodhisattva and Buddhist monks have been recovered from another ancient site, Uskur (Huviskapura) and are assignable

stylistically to the 4th or 5th century A.D.[29]

Not only the Kusana kings, but local rulers of Kasmira also seem to have patronized the faith of Buddha in the early centuries of the Christian era. One of its early kings, Meghavahana, prohibited the slaughter of animals in hiskingdom.[30] He also stopped the killing of animals in sacrifices.[31] Amrtaprabha, the wife of the king, erected a *vihara* for Buddhist monks, which was called Amrtabhavana.[32] Many viharas of renown were built by other queens.[33] Kalhana compares the king with Jina, i.e., Buddha and also with Bodhisattvas.[34] All these probably indicate Meghavahana's attachment to the faith of the Sakya prince.

During the reign of Pravarasena (c. 6th century .A.D.) his maternal uncle Jayendra built a *vihara* and erected a statue of the 'Great Buddha'.[35] Pravarasena, according to Kalhana, was succeeded by his son Yudhisthira II.[36] Several ministers of his, who bore the names of Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta obtained distinction by erecting *vihara* and *caityas*.[37] In the *vihara* built by a queen of king Meghavahana, a fine statue of Budhha was placed by Amrtaprabha, the wife of king Ranaditya.[38]

Inspite of the legendary character of the early portions of the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana's main contention that Buddhism received patronage from the local rulers of Kasmira during the early centuries of the Christian era, seems on the whole, to be based on facts. The Jayendravihara, said to have been founded by Pravarasena's maternal uncle Jayendra, was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century and Ou-kong about the middle of the next century saw the *vihara* of Amrtabhavana, built by Amrtaprabha, queen of Meghavahana, in a flourishing condition.[39]

A fairly reliable account of the condition of Buddhism in Kasmira from the 7th century onward has been furnished by

the accounts of the Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang and Ou-kong, the Chronicle of Kalhana and some archaeological discoveries made at Gilgit, Pandrethan and Paraspor.

Several Buddhist manuscripts were found out from a *stupa* at Gilgit.[40] The script used in the manuscripts may be assigned to the 6th or 7th century A.D. One of the manuscripts reveals the name of a Sahi king Srideva Sahi Surendra Vikramaditya Nanda who was apparently ruling over the Gilgit region when the manuscripts were deposited. Buddhism was thus flourishing on the northern part of Kasmira sometime about the end of the 6th century A.D. or in the early part of the next under the patronage of Sahi rulers.

To about the same period as the manuscripts of Gilgit, may probably be assigned also a large number of Buddhist sculptures hailing from the village of Pandrethan (ancient Puranadhisthana). Puranadhisthana was the capital of Kasmira from a very early date. It enjoyed the privilege of being the metropolis until about the end of the 6th century, A.D. when Pravarasena built a new city called Pravarasenapura (mod. Srinagar), which henceforth became the new capital of the valley. From stylistic consideration, the sculptural remains discovered at Pandrethan seem to have belonged to a period when the old city was finally abandoned in favour of the new. Besides two Buddhist *stupas* and the courtyard of a monastery, the objects of Buddhist antiquities found at Pandrethan include two standing figures of Buddha; a seated statue of Buddha, one diademed and ornamented image of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, another fragmentary sculptured relief of Buddha or Bodhisattva and lastly a relief representation of the birth of Siddhartha.[41]

Hiuen Tsang paid a visit to Kasmira in 631 A.D. He saw in the valley about one hundred *sanghaaramas* and five thousand Buddhist priests. There were four *stupas* built by Asoka, each

of which contained relics of Tathagata. Among the Buddhist *viharas* visited by him specific mention is made of the Juskavihara (mod. Uskur, near Baramula) and Jayendra vihara (founded by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Pravarasana II). The Chinese pilgrim stayed in the court of Kasmira for a couple of years, during which period (with the help of the local clerks)[42] he took copies of a large number of Buddhist scriptures. Evidently, Kasmira was a great centre of Buddhism when Hiuen Tsang visited it.

Hiuen Tsang entered Kasmira during the period of the Karkotas. The kings of the Karkota dynasty were followers of Hinduism and worshipped in general gods like Visnu Siva and Surya, all belonging to the Hindu pantheon. None the less, some of the monarchs of the dynasty also gave liberal patronage to the religion of Tathagata. Hiuen Tsang was received with favour by one of its early kings, presumably Durlabhavardhana. Durlabha's queen Anangalekha built a Buddhist *vihara*, which came to be known as Anangabhavanavihara.[43] Lalitaditya Muktapida founded one Rajavihara with a large quadrangle and a large *caitya* at Parihasapura. At Huskapura, the noble minded king built another large *vihara* with a *stupa*.[44] A colossal copper image of Buddha was made by him, which is said to have reached upto the sky.[45] At Parihasapura Cankuna, a Tukhara minister of the king erected the Cankunavihara, built a *stupa* and placed there golden image of Jina, i.e., Buddha.[46]A second *vihara*, together with a *caitya* was built by the minister at adhisthanantare, evidently at Srinagara and in this *vihara*, the minister put a brownish image of Buddha Sugata which was brought from Magadha on the shoulders of an elephant.[47] Jayapida Vinayaditya, another celebrated monarch of the Karkota family, set up three images of Buddha and a large *vihara* at his newly founded town Jayapura.[48]

Archaeological excavations carried on at Parihasapura, the city founded by Lalitaditya, have brought to light Buddhist structures – a *stupa*, a monastery and a *caitya*. The *stupa* has been identified as the *stupa* of Cankuna, the monastery with the Rajavihara built by Lalitaditya and the *caitya* with a large *caitya* said to have been founded by the same monarch. Among the sculptures discovered at Parihasapura, there are two images of Bodhisattva and one of Buddha.[49] All these, prove to the hilt the popularity of Buddhism in the days of the Karkotas.

The thriving state of Buddhism in Kasmira, during the reign of the Karkotas, i.e., during the 7th or 8th centuries A.D.is also attested to by the evidence of the Chinese traveller Ou-kong. Ou-kong came to Kasmira in 759 A.D. He spent four years in the valley in pilgrimages to holy sites and in studying Sanskrit. He learnt the Silas and the *Vintryas* of the Mulasarvastivadins at the *Moung-ti-vihara*. The other *viharas* referred to by him are *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan, Ngo-nan-i, Ki-tche, Nao-ye-le, Je-je, Ye-li-te-le* and *Ko-toan*.[50] While Hiuen Tsang saw about one hundred *viharas*, Ou-kong noticed more than three hundred *viharas* in Kasmira and innumerable slupas and sacred .images. This undoubtedly indicates a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the valley during the period of the Karkotas.

Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by the growing Vaisnava and Saiva faith which bacame predominant in the valley in the centuries following the Karkota period. The dynasty of Utpala supplanted the Karkotas about the middle of the 9th century A.D. The founder of this dynasty, Avantivarman, (A.D. 855/56-883) was a staunch follower of Siva and Visnu and the architectural remains which have been discovered from the site of Avantipura, the town founded by the monarch, include some images of Visnu, Siva

and other Brahminical gods, but not a single figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva. But though Buddhism was in the background, the opinion cherished by some scholars that from the middle of the 9th century on till the advent of the 11th century, the Buddhists fell on evil days and all the kings were anti-Buddhistic in spirit [51] seems to be an extreme view yet to be established beyond doubt. Except Ksemagupta (A.D. 950-958) and Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101), no king of this period is known to have cherished any anti-Buddhistic feeling in their heart. As for Ksemagupta, we learn from Kalhana that he burnt down a Buddhist monastery named Jayendravihara.[52] From this decaying *vihara*, he took away the brass image of Buddha Sugata. The stones of the temple, he utilized for a Siva temple in his own name. [53] Ksemagupta further con fiscated thirty-two villages which belonged to the burnt *vihara* and gave them to Khasa ruler. [54] But the wrath of a cruel eccentric king against a single particular Buddhist monastery should not be taken as an instance of systematic policy of religious persecution adopted by the State against the Buddhists. Moreover, it may be noted, that if Ksemagupta had followed an anti-Buddhistic policy, he would have destroyed many of the Buddhist *viharas* of Kasmira. But as we learn from Kalhana, the king burnt only a solitary Buddhist monastery; and this Incident may suggest at most the king's ill-feelings towards a particular monastery which might have been guilty of some gross misdemeanour. I t is unfair to infer from this single instance, that the king pursued a policy of anti-Buddhism, when we have no. other information to support the view. A remarkably fine statuette of Bodhisattva Padmapani is now preserved in the Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. An inscription engraved at the base mentions its consecration in the reign of queen Didda (A.D. 980-1003). That Buddha was not looked with disapproval in the 11th century A.D. receives further corroboration from the writings of Ksemendra who

says that during his time, the birth day of Buddha was observed with great ceremony in the valley. [55]

As for Harsa, it may be said that the king was not merely an anti-Buddhist, but a man having no sympathy for any religion whatsoever. If he plundered the statues of Buddha, he confiscated alike the images of the Brahminical gods and goddesses. And for all these works of plunder, spoliation and confiscation, the king was actuated not by his enmity towards any particular sect, but by his greed or rather need for money.

Buddhism received patronage from king Jayasimha, who ascended the throne of Kasmira in 1128 A.D. Many Buddhist *viharas* were built or repaired during this period. He completed the construction of the Sullavihara, which was started by his uncle, Uccala.[56] Another *vihara*, built by the queen Ratnadevi, also received the king's care.[57] The king's minister Rilhana constructed a *vihara* in memory of his deceased wife Sussala.[58] Sussala was indeed a sincere follower of Buddha, as she is said to have built at the site of the Cankunavihara, of which nothing but the name remained, a stone shrine, residences and other structures.[59] Cinta, the wife of Jayasimha's commander Udaya, built a *vihara*, which included within it, five buildings.[60] One of the ministers of Jayasimha, Dhanya by name, commenced the construction of a *vihara*, but could not complete the structure, due to his premature death. Then Jayasimha, the king himself: made arrangements for the completion of the building and for a permanent endowment.[61]

It is almost definite that Buddha was held in high honour in Kasmira upto the last days of the Hindu rule. A stone inscription, generally taken to have been dated 1197 A.D., has been discovered at Arigom (anc. Hadigrama), about 15 miles south west of Srinagara. The inscription opens with a salutation to Buddha Avalokitesvara and exalts him with glorious

titles.[62]

Marco Polo (13th century) states that in his time Kasmira was pre-eminent among the idolatrous countries and it was the very original source from which idolatory had spread around. There were also a number of idolatrous abbeys and monasteries. The superiors who exercised the functions of the abbots in these monasteries were held in great reverence by the mass of the people.[63] If Yule's interpretation that the word 'Idolatry' is an expression meaning Buddhism [64] be accepted, then, we are to admit that the Buddhism enjoyed wide popularity in the valley as late as the end of the 13th century.

The place of Kasmira in the history of Buddhism was great indeed. From the moment Buddhism was preached in the valley, Kasmira became mistress of the Buddhist doctrine and particularly the citadel of the Sarvastivada school. She played a great role in the spread of Buddhism beyond India, to Kandahar and Kabul and Bactria and thence to Central Asia and China. Tibetan Buddhism also drew its inspiration from Kasmira.

SAIVISM

The history of the introduction of Saivism in Kasmira is shrouded in mystery. Archaeologists have discovered traces of Siva worship in the proto-historic Harappa culture. It is not known, whether the Siva of Kasmira was an immigrant from the neighbouring Indus Valley or was of local origin. The conception of Rudra Siva of the Vedic Aryans perhaps might have had some influence on the development and early growth of Saivism in the valley, but any definite assertion on the point must be hazardous and risky.

Whatever might have been the origin of Saivism in Kasmira, there is no doubt that Siva as a popular deity was widely worshipped in the valley from a remote period. If Kalhana is to be believed, there was a shrine of Siva Vijayesa

even in pre-Asokan days.[65] Asoka himself built two temples of Siva Asokesvara[66] and was also a devotee of Siva Bhutesa.[67] Asoka's son Jalauka was also a worshipper of Siva. He made a vow that he would ever worship Siva Vijayesvara and Jyesthesa residing at Nandisaksetra.[68] He also erected a shrine of Siva Jyesharudra at Srinagari[69] and built a stone temple at Nandiksetra for Siva Bhutesa.[70] Next king Damodara II is said to have been crest jewel of Siva worshippers.[71] The Huna chief Mihirakula, who came into possession of the valley some time in the 6th century A.D. founded at Srinagari a shrine of Siva Mihiresvara.[72] King Gokarna established a shrine of Siva Gokarnesvara[73], his son Narendraditya Khinkhila of Siva Bhutesvara[74] and the latter's preceptor of Siva Ugresa.[75]

Tunjina I built a temple of Siva Tungesvara.[76] A Kasmirian minister named Samdhimati became famous for his devotion to Siva.[77] When this minister came to be king, he consecrated a large number of Siva *lingas* and constructed two shrines of Siva under the names of Samdhisvara and Isesvara.[78]

King Sresthasena, also known as Pravarasena I, constructed the first shrine of Pravaresvara.[79] King Pravarasena II, who was a staunch follower of Siva[80], consecrated the *linga* of Pravaresvara.[81] Another king Ranaditya was a votary of Siva and erected temples in honour of his adorned god.[82]

The account of the Siva worship in Kasmira, as given above, has been gleaned principally from the first three books of the *Rajatarangini* and as such, can not claim to be wholly trustworthy. The facts furnished by Kalhana, however, indicate in the main, the wide prevalence of the Saiva cult in the valley from an early period.

While coming to the more sober portions of Kalhana's work, we find innumerable references to the foundations of Siva shrines, erection of temples in honour of Siva, etc. These references, more reliable than the former ones, help us to

portray the actual picture of Saivism in Kasmira in later days.

The Karkotas came to occupy the throne of Kasmira in the 7th century. Some members of this family were devoted to the cult of Siva. Narendraprabha, mother of Lalitaditya, built a shrine of Siva Narendresvara.[83] Lalitaditya erected a lofty temple of stone for Siva Jyestharudra and made a grant of land and villages for the maintenance of the temple.[84] He also offered a large amount of money to the shrine of Siva Bhutesa.[85] The king's love for Saivism was perhaps contagious and his minister Mitrasarman founded a shrine of Siva Mitresvara.[86] Acarya Bhapata constructed a shrine of Siva under the name of Bhappatesvara and many other shrines of Siva called Rakchatesa, etc. were put up by a most of people.[87] During the reign of Lalitaditya's grandson Jayapida, his chamberlain Aca built a shirne of Siva Acesvara.[88]

Saivism received patronage also from the Utpalas, who succeeded the Karkotas. Avantivarman's minister Sura built at Suresvarilsetra a temple in honour of Siva and his consort.[89] His son Ratnavardhana erected a temple of Siva Bhutesvara.[90]

The king Avantivarman founded at Avantipura a temple of Siva Avantisvara.[91] At the shrines of Tripuresvara, Bhutesa, and Vijayesa, three pedestals were fitted by the king with both conduits made of silver.[92] The king, moreover, regularly went to worship at the Saiva shrines of Bhutesvara and other places.[93]

Avantivarman's successor to the throne was his son Samkaravarman. He too was a devotee of Siva. In the town of Samkarapura, founded by him, the king built two temples of Samkaragaurisa and Sugandhesa.[94] The latter temple was built in the name of Samkaravarman's queen, Sugandha who, evidently, like her husband, was a worshipper of Siva. Samkara's minister Ratnavardhana erected another temple of Sadasiva Ratnavardhanesa.[95]

Siva was worshipped with great devotion not only in the Karktoa and Utpala period, but also in the succeeding ages. Parvagupta, who was on the throne of Kasmira about the middle of the 10th century A.D., founded the shrine of Siva Parvaguptesvara.[96] Another temple of Siva Ksemagaurisvara was erected by the succeeding king Ksemagupta.[97]

Among the members of the first Lohara dynasty, Samgra maraja obtained religious merit by restoring the famous shrine of Siva Ranesvara.[98] Queen Suryamati founded the temple of Siva Gaurisvara[99] and also consecrated a second temple of Sadasiva near the royal palace.[100] Her devotion towards Siva was further marked by the consecration of *trisulas, Banalingas*, and other sacred emblems.[101] Suryamati's husband, king Ananta, according to the evidence of Kalhana, surpassed even the *munis* by his devotion to Siva. [102] Ananta's son Kalasa too was a staunch follower of Siva. The stone temple of Siva Vijayesa which was formerly burnt down, was built anew by hin.[103] At Tripuresvara, Kalasa founded another temple of Siva.[104] A third temple of the god was erected by him under the name of Kalasesvara.[105] All these temples were adorned with golden parasols and cups and the like.

Saivism also flourished under the second Lohara dynasty. Rilhana, a minister of Jayasimha, built at Puranadhisthana, a shrine of Siva Rilhanesvara.[106] Another minister of the king, Bhutta by name, consecrated a Siva image called Bhuttesvara.[107] Prince Sangiya, a chief from the Takka territory, founded a *linga* after his own name.[108] Mankha, the brother of *samdhivigrahika* Alamkara, constructed a shrine of Srikantha Siva along with a *matha*. [109] A shrine of Siva Rudresvara was erected by Jayasimha's queen Radda.[110] The virtuous king Simhadeva bowed to Samkara, the lord of Gauri, and caused Vijayesvara to be bathed in milk purchased with one lakh pieces of gold (*niska*).[111]

Some of the Saiva establishments, referred to by Kalhana, have been actually found out by archaeological explorations. The temple of Siva Avantisvara, founded by Avantivarman with massive walls now stands sadly mutilated just outside the village of Jaubror. The temples of Samkaragaurisa and Sugandhesa have been identified with two ruined temples of Patan. A temple at Narannag has been identified by Stein with the Jyesthesa temple of Lalitaditya and another Jarge temple in the same site with Bhutesvara.[112] Most of the Saiva images whether in his phallic or in his human form, have been destroyed. Among the few early sculptural representations of the god, which have survived up to date, mention may be made of the following: seated figure of Lakulisa form of Siva at Pandrethan[113], several sculptured reliefs of Siva at the temple of Payer including Siva seated cross-legged on throne under the canopy of an overhanging tree and surmounted by votaries, Siva Bhairava pursuing a human being, six headed dancing Siva, three-headed Siva seated cross-legged[114], a large human-faced Siva-linga at Baramula[115], a three-headed Siva image and a three-headed Siva in alto-relievo from Avantipura.[116]

Early Kasmira Saivism was of the Pasupata sect.[117] According to a tradition recorded in the *Mahabharata*, the Pasupata doctrine was preached first by Siva Srikantha. It is interesting to note that Siva Srikantha was also regarded in the valley as the promulgator of Sivagama or Agamanta Saivism[118] which included within itself the system of Pasupata.

The early Kasmira Saivism, based on a number of *Tantras* seems to have preached a dualistic doctrine. From the 8th or 9th century, however, the Saiva system of Kasmira assumed a new character. Based on pure *advaita tatva*, it henceforth began to preach a sort, of idealistic monism. The new system took the name of *Trika Sastra*. The founder of this new doctrine was a holy sage, named Vasugupta, who probably

lived in the early years of the 9th century A.D. [119]

The new form of Kasmira Saivism, *Trikasastra* or *Trika sasana*, as it was called, was subdivided into three principal classes, the *Agama Sastra*, the *Spanda Sastra*, and the *Pratyabhinja Sastra*. The *Agama Sastra* consisted of a number of old *Tantras* such as *Malinivijaya*, *Svacchanda*, *Vijnana Bhairava*, *Ananda Bhairava*, *Ucchusma Bhairava*, *Mrgendra*, *Matanga*, *Netra*, *Naisvasa*, *Svayambhuva*, *Rudra-yamala*, etc. These existed even before the coming of the *Trikp* and *Siva Sutras* which are said to have been revealed by Siva himself to the sage Vasugupta.

The principles of the *Trika* system which found its first expression in the *Siva Sutras* were amplified and given clearer expositions in the *Spanda Sastra* or *Spanda Karikas* which was probably a work of Kallata (9th century A.D.) and probably based on a work called *Spandamrta* written by Vasugupta himself.[120]

A philosophical treatise, supporting the doctrines of the *Trika* by critical arguments and reasonings, *vicara* and *manana*, was written by Siddha Somananda, probably a disciple of the sage Vasugupta and this came to be known as *Pratyabhinja*.

The Advaita Saivism of Kasmira, first propounded by Vasugupta, took its origin about the 9th century A.D. To Kallata must be given the credit of spreading the knowledge by writing explanatory notes on them. Kallata's work was carried on through ages by his disciples and some of the writers of the succeeding period wrote several treatises on it.

When Advaita Saivism grew up in Kasmira, it had a formidable rival in the sister religion of Buddhism. To combat the rival, it needed a philosophy to support it and this was supplied by the *Pratyabhijna* Sastra. The work of Somananda was taken up and expanded into greater details by his successors Utpala, Abhinavagupta, Ksemaraja, Yogaraja and Jayaratha. The lamp of Saivism burnt steadily in the valley

throughout the period of the Hindu rule and even afterwards; as late as the 18th century A.D. a work on the *Pratyabhijna* Sastra was composed by a writer named Sivopadhyaya.

It seems that the idealistic monism of the *Trika* system being exclusively philosophical and ethical, remained confined to a particular class of learned religious-minded people only. The mass kept themselves attached to their old forms of Siva worship, and perhaps had little to do with the idealistic school. In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, we have a large number of references to Saiva establishments, etc., but there is no hint of the *Trika* system. If Kalhana is to be believed, the old traditional Pasupata Saivism prevailed in the valley in the 11th century A.D. and even afterwards.[121]

VAISNAVISM

The cult of Visnu seems to have existed in Kasmira from a very early period. Lack of material, however, prevents us from tracing its origin and early character.

The earliest historical reference to the worship of Visnu occurs in the pages of the *Rajatarangini* where it is said that an image of Visnu Jayasvamin was consecrated by king Pravarasena II.[122] Pravarasena II might have lived about the end of the 6th century A.D. Another image of Visnu Ranasvamin was consecrated by king Ranaditya at or near his capital Pravarapura.[123] Ranaditya, who is credited with a reign of three hundred years is undoubtedly a legendary figure in Kalhana's Chronicle. But the historicity of the temple of Visnu Ranasvamin is amply proved by Jayanta Bhatta's mention of it in the *Agamadambara*[124] and Kalhana's reference to it in his fifth book where he speaks of a visit paid to Ranasvamin by Cakravarman's queen.[125] Mankha (12th century A.D.) in his *Srikanthacarita* refers to his father's worhsip of Ranasvamin.[126] Jonaraja also mentions Ranasvamin Visnu in his commentary and describes it as

Sripravarapurapradhanadevata.

With the accession of the Karkotas to the throne of Kasmira in the 7th century A.D., Visnu, the adored deity of the family, came to occupy a prominent position in the Kasmira pantheon. A son of king Durlabhavardhana, called Malhana, built the shrine of Visnu Malhalfasvamin,[127] while the king himself consecrated at Srinagari the shrine of Visnu Durlabhasvamin[128]. Durlabhavardhana's grandson Candrapida, who lived in the early part of the 8th century A.D., consecrated the shrine of Visnu Tribhuvanasvamin.[129] His preceptor, Mihiradatta, built a temple of Visnu Gambhirasvamin and his city-prefect Calitaka founded a temple of Visnu Calitasvamin.[130]

The illustrious Lalitaditya came to the throne of Kasmira not long after the death of Candrapida Vajraditya. He too was a great devotee of Lord Visnu. Resolved upon the conquest of the world, he built a shrine of Kesava Visnu in the early part of his reign.[131] At Huskapura, he built a splendid shrine of Visnu Muktasvamin[132] and of the town of Lokapunya with some villages he made an offering to Visnu.[133] In the town of Parihasapura, which the monarch constructed in honour of his adored deity, he built the glorious silver statue of Visnu Parihasakesava.[134] At Huskapura, another famous image of Visnu Muktakesava, was made out of gold.[135] A fourth one, that of boar incarnation of Lord Visnu, was founded by him under the name of Visnu Mahavaraha.[136] Lalitaditya cones - crated two other silver images of his beloved god, one under the title of Govardhanadhara[137], and the other under the name of Ramasvamin.[138] The latter image was placed in a stone temple which stood by the temple of Visnu Parihasakesava. Garuda, the vahana of Visnu was also a great favourite of Lalitaditya.[139]

Lalitaditya's zeal for Vaisnavism must have shed its light

upon those who were near him and who were driven to the same spiritual inclinations. His queen Kamalavati put up a large silver image of Kamalakesava[140] and the king of Lata, named Kayya, who was probably a feudatory of Lalitaditya, founded a shrine of Visnu Kayyasvamin.[141]

Some of the later Karkota kings also adhered to the faith of Visnu Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya built the town of jayapura, where, as Kalhana poetically describes, 'Kesava showing his quadruple form as well as reclining on the serpent Sesa, has truly taken up his abode, abandoning his residence in Visnu's world.[142] Jayapida's mother Amrtaprabha built a temple of Amrtakesava for the deliverance of her dead son.[143] During the reign of Ajitapida, the ministers Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyana and Mamma built temples of Visnu under the names of Utpalasvamin, Padmasvamin, Dharmasvamin, Kalyanasvamin, and Mammasvamin, respectively.[144]

Visnu was also worshipped by the members of the Utpala dynasty who succeeded the Karkotas. Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), the first king of the dynasty built the shrines of Visnu Avantisvamin, even before he became a king.[145] His brother, Suravarman founded a temple of Suravarmasvamin and a *gokula*.[146] Another brother of the king, Samara founded for Kesava in his quadruple form a temple called Samarasvamin.[147] Mahodaya, the chief door keeper of Sura consecrated a shrine of Visnu Mahodayasvamin[148], while the King's minister Prabhakaravarman built a temple ofVisnu Prabhakarasvamin[149]. Lastly, Suyya, the irigation minister of Avantivarman built at the new confluence of Sindhu and Vitasta a temple of Hrsikesa Yogasayin. [150]

The popularity of the cult of Visnu in the happy valley during the 8th and 9th centuries is further attested to by a number of images discovered from various ancient ruins. These include a few busts and heads of Visnu which have

been recovered from Vijabror, three-faced Visnu figures carved on the walls of the Martanda temple, relief sculptures of Caturbhuja Visnu and Visnu seated between consorts hailing from the ruins of Andarkoth and four-headed Visnu images from Avantipura and the surroundings.[151]

The development of Vaisnavism in Kasmira, from the 10th century onwards, is evidenced from Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. Queen Sugandha (A.D. 904-906) built a temple of Visnu Gopala Kesava and her daughter-in-law Nanda founded a temple of Nandikesava.[152] A temple of Visnu Meruvardhanasvami was built by Partha's (A.D. 906-92I) minister, Meruvardhana.[153] Yasaskara (A.D. 939-948) started the construction of a temple of Visnu Yasaskarasvamin, which, when he died, was left incomplete. The construction, however, was completed by Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950). Bhatta Phalguna, a councilor of Ksemagupta (A.D. 950-958), founded the shrine of Visnu Phalgunasvamin. [154] About the same time, Bhima, the illustrious monarch of the Sahi dynasty, who was the maternal grandfather of Ksemagupta's queen Didda, built a high temple of Bhimakdava.[155] About the end of the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. queen Didda, founded a series of Visnu shrines. The temple of Abhimanyusvamin, she built to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit[156], while the shrine of Visnu Simhasvamin was erected by her, under the name of her father Simharaja.[157] The queen further built two temples under the name of Visnu Diddasvamin.[158]

The iconoclast Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101) destroyed a large number of Hindu and Buddhist images. The Visnu images desecrated by the dissolute king included the famous Parihasakdava. But king Uccala, who stepped into his shoes in the early years of the 12th century A.D., put up a new image of Parihasakdava. [159] He also adorned the shrine of Visnu Tribhuvanasvamin with *sukavali*, which Harsa had

carried off.[160] Lastly, he restored the decayed temple of the ancient shrine of Visnu Cakradhara.[161] All these are indications enough of the king's love and admiration for Vaisnavism.

Vaisnavism was popular even after Uccala's death. Ratnavali, the queen of Jayasimha established Vaikunthamatha and other pious buildings.[162] The gokula, erected by her, far excelled the *gokulas* erected previously.[163] Alamkara, the superintendent of Jayasirimha's great treasury (*vrhadganja*) was also a worshipper of Visnu.[164] Among the later Hindu kings who professed Vaisnavism, Jonaraja mentions Ramadeva, who renewed the Visnu temple at Utpalapura[165] and Udayanadeva who gave all golden ornaments in his treasury to Visnu.[166]

In the Vaisnavism of Kasmira, we find a synthesis of the different Vaisnava cults, which were current in ancient India. In it seems to have mingled, the faith of the Vedic Visnu the system of the Pancaratra school, the religion of the Satvats and the faith in the cowherd god Gopala Krsna. Rama was worshipped as an incarnation of Visnu[167], but there is no definite evidence of the existence of Rama-cult in early Kasmira.

Among the various incarnations of Visnu, Varaha (boar) Krsna, and Nrsimha (man-lion) were most popular. Lalitaditya built a temple of Mahavaraha[168] and iconographic representations .of boar, man and lion-faced Visnu come from the temple of Martanada (8th century A.D.) as well as from the ruins of A vantipura (9th century A.D.). Rama, as an incarnation of Visnu, seems to have been worshipped in the 8th century A.D. The *Nilamatapurana* refers to the celebration of Buddha's birth-day festival[169], and this was a step towards the Buddha becoming an *avatara* of Visnu. The *avataravada* of Kasmira was, however, thoroughly systematized by the 11th century A.D. and in Ksemendra's *Dasavataracarita*, we find a list of the ten incarnations of Visnu under the names of

Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Srirama, Srikrsna, Buddha and Karkya.[170]

MINOR GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE HINDU RELIGION

Besides Visnu and Siva, there were many other minor Hindu gods and goddesses in the early Kasmirian pantheon. The most important of them include Surya, Karttikeya, Ganesa, Agni, Laksmi, Durga, Ganga, Yamuna and Kamadeva, of whose worship we have real literary evidence; some of their images too have survived.

The worship of Surya was probably brought into the valley from Iran at an early period. The Sakas and the Kusanas, who ruled over Kasmira in the early centuries of the Christian era, seem to have been responsible for its introduction. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from making any definite assertion on the point or from tracing the early character of the cult.

Ranaditya, a king of ancient Kasmira, is said in the *Rajatarangini* to have bulit at the village of Simharotsika a temple of Martanda, which became famous everywhere under the name of Ranapurasvamin.[171] But Ranaditya is a legendary character in the ancient history of Kasmira and the village. Simharotsika or the Martanada temple, said to have been founded by him, cannot be located. In the 8th century A.D., Lalitaditya erected the shrine of Aditya at the town of Lalitapura.[172] He built another massive stone temple of Surya under the name of Martanda[173] the ruins of which have survived.

The Sun worship continued to be in vogue in Kasmira long after the death of Lalitaditya. King Suravarman II (A.D. 939) paid homage to the temple of the Sun-god Jayasvamin.[174] The copper image of Surya, called Tamrasvamin, was one of the most celebrated shrines of the valley in the 11th century

A.D.[175] Kalhana's remarks that Kasmirian king Kalasa (A.D. 1063-1089) sought refuge with Martanda to save his life[176] and presented a gold statue at the god's feet,[177] prove the popularity of Sun worship in Kasmira at that time. Kalasa's son Harsa (1089- 1101 A.D.), who destroyed a large number of divine images, spared the image of Martanda, either out of respect or out of fear.[178]

The ruins of the temple of Martanda clearly show with what grandeur and pomp, love and devotion, the god was worshipped. No image of the Sun-god has yet been recovered from any part of the valley. There is, however, in the right panel of the eastern wall of the ante-chamber of the temple of Martanda, a representation of Aruna, the charioteer of Surya, holding the reins of his seven horses.

Karttikeya worship in early Kasmira is borne out by the discovery of a fine six armed image of the generallisimo.[179] Though the image can not be ascribed to any definite chronological setting, the close resemblance which it bears with the Gandhara images of the Bodhisattvas, may place it to a period round about the 5th century A.D. Another standing figure of Kumara, along with an Ardhanarisvara image, has been found among the ruins of Avantipura [180] and may be dated to the period of Avantivarnman's rule (A.D. 855/56-883). The *Nilamatapurana*, which was probably composed in the 8th century A.D. refers that the worship of Karttikeya was performed on the 6th of lunar *Caitra* every year and this was supposed to ensure the welfare and safety of the children of Kasmira.[181] In the *Rajatarangini*, there is mention of the foundation of one Skandabhavanavihara by a Kasmirian minister. Skandagupta.[182] Though at a comparatively modern period the place was associated with the worship of Karttikeya, Stein is probably correct in his assumption that in early times it was a Buddhist *vihara* and had no relation with

the deity of Kumara.[183] But even then, Skanda, the very name of the founder of the *vihara*, seems to suggest his personal association with the god.

Ganesa, the brother of Skanda according to the Hindu mythology, was one of the popular gods of the valley of Kasmira. According to Kalhana an image of Vinayaka Bhimasvamin existed in Kasmira as early as the days of Pravarasena II (c. 6th century A.D.) and received regular worship. [184] A stone image of Ganesa, along with an Ardhanarisvara image, mention of which has already been made, was found amidst the ruins of Avantipura and may be dated to the second half of the 9th century A.D. [185] Several terracotta plaques, containing the figure of the elephant-headed god, evidently works of local craftsman ship, have also been recovered from the site of Avantipura.[186] That Avantipura was a centre of Ganesa worship receives further corroboration from Ksemendra who says that bowls of sweets offered to Lord Ganesa were resold in the town of Avantipura.[187] We learn from the *Nilamatapurana* that the 8th of the darker Asadha of every year was dedicated to the worship of Ganesa and went by the name of Vinayaka-astami.[188] The worship of Vinayaka had also to be performed on the eve of the anointing ceremony of the king. [189]

No .sculptural representation of Agni or Fire god has yet been discovered from Kasmira. A passage from the *Rajatarangini*, however, refers to the worship of the Fire god and records that king Uccala's father Malla, observed from his earliest time the cult of a sacred fire.[190] As Stein has pointed out, there was probably a shrine of the god of Fire Svayambhu at Suyam, a place situated about half a mile from the present village of Nichhom.[191] The temple of fire god Svayambhui was destroyed, it may be presumed, by Harsa and the decayed building was restored by Uccala.[192] King Uccala is

also said to have started once on a pilgrimage to Svayambhu.[193]

Laksmi, the goddess of wealth, was quite a popular deity. King Pravarasena II (6th century A.D.) is credited with the establishment of five shrines of the goddess Sri. 194 An image of Laksmi has come from the historic town of Vijabror, modern Brar.[195] From stylistic consideration, the sculpture may be assigned to about the 6th century A.D. Another beautiful stone figure of the goddess seated on a throne, supported by a pair of lions, with elephants on each side pouring water over her head, has been discovered from the Avantisvami temple, and is apparently of the 9th century A.D. Kalhana records that during the reign of Unmattavanti (A.D. 937-939), a Brahmana of well known valour, named Rakka, raised an image of the goddess Sri under the appellation of Rakkajayadevi. [196]

Worship of Sakti, the energetic principle, seems to have been widely prevalent. In the worship of goddess Durga, who is but an embodiment of Sakti, animal sacrifices played an important part.[197] Goddess Sarada was one of the most celebrated deities of the valley in early times[198] and she was nothing but 'Sakti embodying three separate manifestations'. [199] References to 'Matrcakra' are frequently met with in the *Rajatarangini*[200] and sculptured images of *sapta matrkas*, such as Brahmani, Mahesvari, Kaumari, Indrani, Vaisnavi, Varahi and Camundi have been recovered from Pandrethan.[201]A life-size separate sculpture of Varahi, representing a young woman with the face of Varaha, discovered among the ruins of Kasmira, is now preserved in the Lalmandi Musuem, Srinagara.[202] Though the *sapta matrkas* were originally Sivaite in origin, there is no doubt that afterwards they became the actual cult emblems of the devout Saktas.

Representations of the goddess Ganga, sometimes accompanied by the goddess Yamuna, are found among the

old sculptures of the valley,[203] but they do not seem to have any particular cult associated with them.

Two similarly sculptured reliefs found in the Avantisvami temple have been generally interpreted as representations of the god Visnu accompanied by Laksmi and another goddess (Bhumi?).[204] But according to Vogel, the amorous attitude of the central personage and his attributes, a bow and an arrow ending in a flower, indicate that here we have an iconographic representation of Kamadeva seated between his wives Rati and Priti.[205] There is literary evidence too of Kamadeva's popularity in ancient Kasmira. According to the *Nilamatapurana* the 13th of lunar *Caitra* was devoted to the worship of Kamadeva.[206]

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1. *Mahavamsa*, XII, 3.
2. Watters, On *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 265.
3. See J. Przuluski's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1914, pp. 535 ff:
4. *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston (tr. E. Obermiller), II, p. 90.
5. *Rajatarangini*, I, 28, 182.
6. *R. T.*, I, 185.
7. *R. T.*, I, 201-273.
8. *R. T.*, III, 530.
9. *R. T.*, V, 592-617.
10. *R. T.*, VII, 167-175.
11. *R. T.*, I, 222.
12. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II (tr. Jarret, 2nd edition), p. 356.
13. *Mahavamsa*, XII, 3.
14. *Dul-va* (A. S. B. Xylograph), XI, 684-690.
15. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 261-262.
16. *R. T.*, I, 101-102.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), I, p. 150.

19. The name of Kasmira does not occur -in the edicts of Asoka, where a detailed description has been given regarding the emperor's missionary activities in different parts of his far flung empire and even beyond it. But we know from R.E. V. that *Dharma-Mahamatras* were appointed by Asoka to establish and promote *Dharma* among the Gandharas and other peoples. Now Gandhara, in pre-christian days, seems to have included within it, the territory of Kasmira. In the Buddhist texts, 'Kasmira-Gandhara' was regarded as one of the sixteen *janapadas*. Kaspapyros (i.e. Kasmira) was noticed by Hecataeus (549-486 B.C.) as a Gandaric city. In the *Milindapanha*, Kasmira Gandhara appears as a compound name. (Milinadpanha, ed. V. Trenckner, p. 331). It, therefore, appears highly probable that when Asoka refers to Gandhara in his inscription, he probably includes within it the territory of Kasmira. According to some scholars, Nabhakas mentioned in R.E. XIII, were probably the inhabitants of Kasmira; see *I.H.Q.*, XXIV, pp. 163-164.
20. As related in the *Milindapanha* the discussion between Milinda and Nagasena took at a place which was only 12 yojanas from Kasmira (Milindapanha, ed. Trenckner, pp. 82-83) and this has some important bearing on the history of Buddhism in Kasmira in the Ist century B.C.
21. *Milindapanha* (ed. Trenckner), p. 420.
22. *R. T.*, I, 168. Of the three Turuska kings, Huska, Juska, and Kaniska, mentioned by Kalhana, Huska has been generally identified with the Kusana king Huviska, Juska is probably Vajespa of the Ara inscription of the year 41, and Kaniska may be either Kaniska I or Kaniska II of the Ara inscription.
23. *R. T.*, I, 169-170.
24. *R. T.*, I, 171.
25. Watters, *On Yuan Ckwang*, I, pp. 270-271.
26. *R. T.*, I, 173.
27. Watters, *On Yuan Ckwang*, I, .pp. 272-283.
28. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 105-111.
29. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 11-24.
30. *R. T.*, III, 6.
31. *R. T.*, III, 7.
32. *R. T.*, III, 9.

33. *R. T.*, III, 11-14.
34. *R. T.*, III, 4, 7.
35. *R. T.*, III, 355.
36. *R. T.*, III, 379.
37. *R. T.*, III, 380.
38. *R. T.*, III, 463-64.
39. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (1861), p. 223; *J.A.* (1895),9 Serie, Tome VI, p. 354.
40. *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), I, Intr. pp. 40-43.
41. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 27-38.
42. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, pp. 258 sqq. Dr. N. Dutt suggests that the Buddhist scriptures copied by Hiuen Tsang in the Kasmira court, formed the basis of the *Tripitaka* of the 7th century A.D., Gilgit Manuscripts, I, Intr., p. 37.
43. *R. T.*, IV, 3.
44. *R. T.*, IV, 188, 200.
45. *R. T.*, IV, 200-203.
46. *R. T.*, IV, 211.
47. *R. T.*, IV, 213, 259-262.
48. *R. T.*, IV, 507.
49. Kak, *Ancient Monurments of Kashmir*, pp. 146-149.
50. *J.A.* (1895), VI, pp. 341 sqq. *Mung-ti-vihara* seems to be identical with a large vihara said to have been built by Muktapida at Huskapura (R. T., IV, 188), *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan* with Amrtabhavana constructed by Amrtaprabha, queen of Meghavahana (R.T., III, II), *Ngo-nan-i* with Anangabhavanavihara founded by Anarigalekha, wife of Durlabhavardhana (*R.T.*, IV, 3), *Ki-tche* with Krtyasramavihara (*R. T.*, I, 147). Also see Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, pp. 26, 73 and 140.
51. *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), I, Intr. p. 45.
52. *R. T.*, VI, 174.
53. *R. T.*, VI, 172-173.
54. *R. T.*, VI, 175.
55. *Sarhvatsare saptavimse Vaistikhasya sitodaye |*
Krteyam kalpalatika jina jannamahotsave | |
Avadanakalpalata, Introduction, verse 16.

According to the *Nilamatapurana* also, the birth day of Buddha was held in ancient Kasmira on the full moon day of

Vaisakha, *Nilamata*(ed. De. Vreese), verses, 684.-689.

56. *R. T.*, VIII, 3318.
57. *R. T.*, VIII, 2402.
58. *R. T.*, VIII, 2410-2411.
59. *R. T.*, VIII, 2415.
60. *R. T.*, VIII, 3352-53.
61. *R. T.*, VIII, 3343-3344.
62. *Namo Bhagavate Aryavalokitesvaraya Trailokyalokabhutaya Lokabhavaccide Jagadanandacandraya Lokanathaya te namah.* Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 300 sqq.
63. Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, pp. 166-67.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
65. *R. T.*, I, 105-106.
66. *R. T.*, I, 106.
67. *R. T.*, 107.
68. *R. T.*, I, I 13.
69. *R. T.*, I, 124.
70. *R. T.*, I, 148.
71. *R. T.*, I, 154.
72. *R. T.*, I, 306. Mihirakula's devotion to Siva is also borne out by his coins where the *trisula* and the bull of Siva appear and the legend runs as *Jayatu Visa dhvaja*, see Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India, p. 27.
73. *R. T.*, I, 346.
74. *R. T.*, I, 347.
75. *R. T.*, I, 348.
76. *R. T.*, II, 14.
77. *R. T.*, II, 65.
78. *R. T.*, 11,123-135.
79. *R. T.*, III, 99.
80. *R. T.*, III, 268-280.
81. *R. T.*, III, 350.
82. *R. T.*, III, 440-463.
83. *R. T.*, IV, 43.
84. *R. T.*, IV, 190.
85. *R. T.*, IV, 189.

86. *R. T.*, IV, 209.
87. *R. T.*, IV, 214.
88. *R. T.*, IV, 513.
89. *R. T.*, V, 3 7.
90. *R. T.*, V, 40.
91. *R. T.*, V, 45.
92. *R. T.*, V, 46.
93. *R. T.*, V, 48-49.
94. *R T* ,V ,158.
95. *R. T.*, V, 163.
96. *R. T.*, VI, 137.
97. *R. T.*, VI, 173.
98. *R. T.*, VII, 115.
99. *R. T.*, VII, 180.
100. *R. T.*, VII, 181.
101. *R. T.*, VIII, 185.
102. *R. T.*, VII, 201.
103. *R. T.*, VII, 525.
104. *R. T.*, VII, 526.
105. *R. T.*, VII, 527.
106. *R. T.*, VIII, 2409.
107. *R. T.*, VIII, 2432.
108. *R. T.*, VIII, 3348.
109. *R. T.*, VIII, 3354.
110. *R. T.*, VIII, 3389-3391.
111. Jonaraja, Dvitiya *Rajatarangini* (Bombay ed.), verse 127.
112. *Rajatarangini* (Eng. tr. by Stein), V 01. I, p. 194.
113. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 114.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
116. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 55-56.
117. *R. T.*, I, 17-48, III, 267, 460, V, 404.
118. J. C. *Chatterjee, Kashmir Saivism*, p. 36.
119. Vasugupta's disciple Kallata is mentioned by Kalhana as a contemporary of Avantivarman (A.D., 855/56-883) in R. T., V, 66. Hence Vasugupta seems to have lived somewhat earlier

than Kallata, say in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D.

120. *Chatterjee, Kashmir Saivism*, p. 32.

121. *R. T.*, VII, 44. The presence of Kapalin sect in the valley as evidenced from Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* III, 369, VII, 44 cuts at the root the theory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that Kasmira was free from the scenes of ghastly Kapalism or Kalamukhism, the wild aberrations of human intellect and spirit, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems*, pp. 129-132.

122. *R. T.*, III, 350-351.

123. *R. T.*, III, 144-158.

124. *'Tadatra pravisya bhagavantarnasesajana saranam Ranasvaminam. pranipatya tatah Sabhamadhyamadkyasisye' Act IV, Agamadambara.*

125. *R .T.*, IV, 394.

126. *Srikanthacarita*, iii, 68.

127. *R. T.*, IV, 4.

128. *R. T.*, IV, 6.

129. *R. T.*, IV, 79.

130. *R. T.*, IV, 81.

131. *R. T.*, IV, 183.

132. *R. T.*, IV, 188.

133. *R. T.*, IV, 193.

134. *R. T.*, IV, 195, 202.

135. *R. T.*, IV, 196, 201.

136. *R. T.*, IV, 197.

137. *R. T.*, IV, 198. In Govardhanadhara, Vasudeva-Krsna seems to have been identified with the cow-herd-god, Gopala-Krsna.

138. *R. T.*, IV, 275. The cult of Rama probably did not exist in the 8th century A .D and Ramasvamin seems to have been worshipped as an incarnation of Visnu.

139. *R. T.*, IV, 199.

140. *R. T.*, IV, 208.

141. *R. T.*, IV, 209.

142. *R. T.*, IV, 508. In the quadruple form of Kesava we can trace the *vyuhavada* of the Pancaratra school whereas Kesava reclining on serpent Sesa points to the identity of Narayana with Vasudeva.

143. *R. T.*, IV, 659.

144. *R. T.*, IV, 695-698.
145. *R. T.*, V, 45.
146. *R. T.*, V, 23. *Gokula* seems to have been a designation for a certain class of religious establishments. It is connected with *gokula*, the dwelling place of Krsna-Gopala. The *gokulas* of Kasmira were provided with meadows for the cows' unobstructed free grazing (R. T., VIII, 2436-2437). It may be mentioned in this connection that according to Hindu mythology cowherd Krsna assumed the form of avatara for killing demons in the cow settlement. *Hari Vamsa*; 5876-5878; *Vayu Purana*, ch, g8, verses 100-102; Bhagavata Purana, II, 7.
147. *R. T.*, V, 25.
148. *R. T.*, V, 28.
149. *R. T.*, V, 30.
150. *R. T.*, V, 100.
151. *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1915-16, p. 62; *Handbook*, pp. 48-52, 61-63; *Ancient Monuments*, p. 162.
152. *R. T.*, V, 244-245.
153. *R. T.*, V, 267-268.
154. *R. T.*, VI, 140-142.
155. *R. T.*, VI, 178.
156. *R. T.*, VI, 299.
157. *R. T.*, VI, 304.
158. *R. T.*, VI, 300-302.
159. *R. T.*, VIII, 79.
160. *R. T.*, VIII, 80.
161. *R. T.*, VIII, 78.
162. *R. T.*, VIII, 2433.
163. *R. T.*, VIII, 2436.
164. *R. T.*, VIII, 2425.
165. Jonaraja (Bombay ed.), verse 111.
166. *Ibid.*, 265.
167. *R. T.*, IV, 275; a perusal of the *Nilamatapurana* where mention is made of the worship of Rama, also points to the same conclusion.
168. *R. T.*, IV, 197.
169. *Nilamatapurana* ed. De Vreese, verses 684-689.

170. Ksemendra, *Dasavataracarita*, (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Kavyamala, 26, Bombay, 189I).
171. *R. T.*, III, 467.
172. *R. T.*, IV, 187.
173. *R. T.*, IV, 192.
174. *R. T.*, V, 449.
175. *R. T.*, VII, 696, 709.
176. *R. T.*, VII, 709.
177. *R. T.*, VII, 715.
178. *R. T.*, VII, 1096.
179. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 66.
180. *Ann.* Rep., *A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 53.
181. *Nilamatapurana* (ed. De Vreese), verses 647-649.
182. *R. T.*, III, 380.
183. *R. T.*, (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 340.
184. *R. T.*, III, 352.
185. *Ann.* Rep. *A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 53.
186. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
187. *Samayamatka*, II, 77.
188. *Nilamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses, 698-700.
189. *Ibid.*, verse, 847.
190. *R. T.*, VII, 1474.
191. *R. T.* (tr. Stein), VoL I, footnotes on I, 34.
192. *R. T.*, VIII, 78.
193. *R. T.*, VIII, 250.
194. *R. T.*, III, 353.
195. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 58.
196. *R. T.*, V, 426.
197. *R. T.*, III, 83.
198. *R. T.*, I, 37, IV, 325, V, 469, VIII, 2556; Alberuni, India (tr. Sachau), I, p. 117; *Vikramankadevacarita*, XVIII, 5; Jonaraja (Bombay ed.),. 1056-71.
199. Stein, R. T. (Eng. tr.), Vol II, p. 280.
200. R. T., I, 122, 330-335, 348, III, 99.
201. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 116.
202. R. T. (tr. R. S. Pandit), p. 20, footnotes.

203. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 120, 121, 124, 133.
204. Sahni, *Ann.* Rep. A.S.I., 1913-14, P.46 and pl. XXVII figs. d and e; Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 122.
205. *Ann.* Bib. Art and Archaeology (Leiden, 1933), p. 24.
206. Nilamata (ed. De Vreese), verses 655-658.

CHAPTER VII

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

OF the earliest Sanskrit compositions of Kasmira, not a single has survived which may be dated with certainty to a period prior to the 6th century A.D.[1] But the highly developed literary style found in the works of the eighth century and on-wards must have been the product of a long period of culture. In fact, the *Rajatarangini* speaks of many of these poets who flourished long before and who thought and wrote with ability on different branches of literature. One of them, Vasunanda, a ruler of the valley, is said to have composed a well-known work on erotics (*smarasastra*).[2] No work of Vasunanda is, however, extant. : Another Kasmirian named Candaka is said to have been a great poet,[3] though no specific work is attributed to him. It is not unlikely that he is the same Candaka to whom some verses are ascribed in Ballabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*.[4] Perhaps, he may be also identical with the writer Candra, mentioned by the Chinese traveller It-sing. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* deals at some length with the career and activities of one Matrgupta who ruled Kasmira for a while. He was a poet and a contemporary of Pravarasena II (c. 580

A.D.) of Kasmira and Vikarmaditya Harsa of Ujjayini (c. 6th century A.D.).[5] Some scholars have endeavoured to prove his identity with the great Kalidasa.[6] The arguments put forward by them may be summed up in the following points:-

1. 'Matr' is same as 'Kali' and 'Gupta' is same as 'Dasa'.
2. Tradition says that Vikramaditya bestowed half of his kingdom on Kalidasa. This agrees very well with the fact narrated by Kalhana that king Vikramaditya of Ujjain made a gift of Kasmira to Matrgupta.
3. The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana speaks of a large number of poets, some of whom like Vakpatiraja and Bhavabhuti lived beyond the borders of Kasmira, but it never makes any reference to Kalidasa, who was undoubtedly the most famous of all.
4. The illustrations of Kalidasa are chiefly derived from the natural beauty of Kasmira; we may presume that he was an inhabitant of that province.
5. Like Kalidasa, who made a faithful portrayal of his sorrowful feelings of separation from his beloved in the *Meghaduta*, Matrgupta is also known to have lived away from his wife and home.
6. The verse No. 252 in Book III of the *Rajatarangini*, the composition of which is ascribed by Kalhana to Matrgupta, runs as follows:-

   Nakaramudvahasi naiva vikatthase tvam:
   ditsam na sucayasi. muncasi satphalani |
   nihsabdavarsanabhivambudharasya
   rajan: samlaksyate phalata eva tava prasadah | |

   The verse is very similar to verse No. 113 of the Meghaduta and conveys the same meaning.
7. According to tradition, Kalidasa wrote a poem called *Setukavya* in Prakrt at the request of Pravarasena.

Tradition also says that Pravarasena II of Kasmira constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitasta.[7] It is possible that Matrgupta wrote the poem at the request of the Kasmirian king Pravarasena II who occupied the throne of Kasmira, when Matrgupta retired to Banaras.

8. By astronomical calculations, some writers have tried to prove that Kalidasa lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D.[8] This is in conformity with the date of Matrgupta who, being a contemporary of Vikarmaditya Harsa of Malwa and Pravarasena II of Kasmira, must be assigned to the end of the 6th century

The reasons in favour of the identification of Matrgupta with Kalidasa, however, are not convincing. It is inexplicable why the *Rajatarangini* should refer to Kalidasa by the pseudonym Matrgupta. Anandavardhana and several other Kasmirian writers quote verses from Kalidasa, but never identify him with Matrgupta. In none of the works of Kalidasa there is any mention of Matrgupta. Secondly, Kalhana refers only to such poets as had some connection with the affairs of Kasmira. Bhavabhuti and Vakpati are mentioned, as they were court poets of an antagonist of a Kasmirian king. On the other hand, such great poets as Valmiki and Vedavyasa have not been mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. Probably, Kalidasa had never anything to do with the kings of Kasmira and this may be the reason of Kalhana's silence over him. The subject matter of *Meghaduta* does not invariably indicate that its author lived in separation from his wife. It is not always safe to attribute the events of the life of the hero to the life of the author. The mere similarity in the subject matter of two verses also cannot indicate the identity of their authors. Kalidasa might have written a poem entitled *Setuvandhakavya* at the

request of Pravarasena, but this Pravarasena might be the Vakataka king of that name and that would make Kalidasa a contemporary of Vikramaditya Chandragupta II. Lastly, the method of reaching at a specified date of history by means of astronomical calculations has not been generally successful. Even if it be a fact that Kalidasa flourished in the middle of the 6th century, that is no sure reason for identifying him with Matrgupta.

Matrgupta, however, appears to have been a historical character, who lived in Kasmira, if not at the end of the 6th century A.D., at least in an earlier period. His commentary on Bharata's *Natyasastra* is referred to in Sundaramisra's *Natyapradipa*..[9] Ksemendra quotes the opinions of Matrgupta in one of his works.[10] Some of his verses have also found place in Vallabhadeva's anthology.[11]

In the *Rajatarangini*[12], Kalhana tells his readers that king Matrgupta honoured the poet Mentha, for composing the poem *Hayagrivavadha*, by presenting a golden dish to be placed below it, lest its flavour might escape. Honoured by such an appreciation Bhartrmentha thought richer rewards needless. The poem *Hayagrivavadha* is lost. The date of Mentha is also not known for certain. But Mentha or Bhartrmentha seems to have been a person of fame. He receives the honour of being placed second in the spiritual lineage of Valmiki.[13] The Kasmirian writer Mankha places him with Subandhu, Bharavi and Bana. The first verse of his great poem Hayagrivavadha which runs as

asiddaityo Hayagrivah suhrdvesmasu yasya tah |

prathayanti valarh vahyoh sitacchatrasmilah sriyah ||

is quoted by Rajasekhara in his *Kavyaminamsa* and by Ksemendra in his *Suvrttatilaka*. Some verses are extracted under Mentha or Hastipaka's name in Vallabhadeva's

Subhasitavali and other anthologies. [14] Dr. Bhau Daji finds one of his verses occurring in Raghava's commentary of *sakuntala*.[15]

Some verses are attributed to Gonanda, Gopaditya and Ranaditya in the *Kavindravacanasamuccaya*[16] and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. [17] Are they to be identified with the Kasmirian kings of their names mentioned in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*? Unfortunately, we have nothing against which we can check the evidence and prove or reject such a theory.

Candragomin, the founder of the Candra School of Sanskrit grammar, probably lived in Kasmira. According to Kalhana's evidence, Candracarya revived the study of the *Mahabhasya* and composed his own grammar [18] during the reign of king Abhimanyu. Bhartrhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryaksa, who lived before Candracarya and who by their uncritical methods did much to push the Mahabhasya to the background. [19] A later Tibetan work records the censure of Patanjali's work by Candragomin.[20] It is thus quite likely that Candracarya and Candragomin are identical persons.

Kalhana's testimony does not give any clue regarding the date of Candragomin. But it is clear from his statement that the grammarian flourished long before the advent of the Karkotas.[21] His Buddhistic title 'gomin' and the *Mangalasloka* of his *vrtti* in which he pays reverence to Sarvajna, tend to prove that Candragomin was a follower of Buddha. This litterateur recasts the work of Panini and reduces the master's eight chapters into six of four sections each. He often rearranges and simplifies Panini. But excepting thirty-five new *sutras*, there is nothing much original in his work.

Kalhana says that while writing the *Rajatarangini*, he received considerable informations regarding the earlier periods from a work entitled the *Nilamatapurana*. [22] The date

of the Nilamatapurana is uncertain. But Kalhana's reference to it as a work of high antiquity may suggest a date earlier than the accession of the Karkotas. The mention of Buddha in the work as an incarnation of Visnu has led some scholars to assign the book not much earlier than the 7th century A.D.[23]

The *Nilamatapurana* describes at great length how Kasmira was created out of water and left to the care of the Nagas of whom Nila was the chief. Kasmira, according to this work, was Sati transformed into land. At Vasuki's request, Visnu agreed to apportion the great lake of the land of Sati as a dwelling place for the Nagas, where they would be safe from Garuda Visnu further ordered Garuga to make Nila, the chief of all Nagas.

At that time, a water demon named Jalodbhava was causing great trouble by killing the inhabitants of Darvabhisa, Gandhara, Jalamdhara and other neighbouring regions. Nila went to his father Kasyapa and asked him to devise means by which the wicked demon could be got rid of. At the request of Kasyapa, the gods came down to Kasmira to fight the water demon and Visnu u ultimately slew him.

Next the Nilamatapurana relates how Kasmira came to be inhabited by human beings. After the valley was recovered, people could at first live for only six months and during the rest of the year, the country was occupied by the pisacas under their king Nikumbha. Nikumbha left the valley with the whole of his army at the beginning of spring to fight the goblins of the ocean of sands. Then the men came to Kasmira, lived during the summer and after gathering their harvest left the valley before the advent of the winter when the Pisaca king returned and when no human being could live in the valley due to excessive cold. This continued for four *yugas*. Then a Brahmana, Candradeva by name, did not leave the

valley during the winter and spent the season in the subterranean palace of Nila, the king of the Nagas. Candradeva prayed before Nila that in future people should be allowed to live in Kasmira during the winter also, to which the Naga king agreed. Nila furthermore declared to the Brahmana the rites which. were to be observed by the future inhabitants. Henceforth, there was no more any excessive snow-fall or trouble from the Pisacas and slowly men came to live in the valley throughout the year.

The rites proclaimed by Nila are very similar to the socio religious ceremonies and festivals observed in the plains of India. There can be little doubt that the *Nilamatapurana* is a handbook of rites and ceremonies which were observed by the people of ancient Kasmira. But besides being a handbook of rites and ceremonies, it is also ' a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kasmira and their legends which are required in order to explain the *Rajatarangini* and that it shows how Kalhana used his sources' [24] and it is here that the greatest importance of the work lies.

In addition to the *Nilamatapurana*, there are other texts of a somewhat similar pattern, known as *mahqtmyas*, which also are useful for the interpretation of various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kasmira. The exact date of composition of the numerous *Sthanamahatmyas* that put forward the false claim that they were extracted from the *Puranas* cannot be determined with certainty. But though they use many old materials, in their present form they seem to belong to a comparatively later period. At least there is nothing to prove that this bulk of literary works were composed in the pre-Muslim Kasmira.

Kalhana's very frequent references to numerous Kasmirian authors and their works enable us to follow the history of

Sanskrit literature of Kasmira with tolerable accuracy from the 8th century onwards. The works of many of the writers themselves have also survived and some of these contain valuable informations about other foregoing and contemporary writers and their compositions. Vallabhadeva's (15th century A.D.) *Subhasitavali* which is an anthology of verses compiled from the writings of various poets of ancient India and particularly of Kasmira, is also a very valuable work which helps a lot to trace the early literary history of the valley.

Of the poets of the Karkota period, Kalhana mentions Damodaragupta[25], Manoratha, Sankhadatta, Cataka and Samdhimat[26] who flourished in the court of king Jayapida. Damodaragupta is said to have written a book called *Kuttanimata Kavya*. [27] This work has survived. It is a practical treatise on erotics. Full of Interesting stories, the book Incidentally throws a flood of light on the contemporary social life. Several verses of Manoratha seem to occur in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*.[28] About the other three poets Sankhadatta, Cataka and Samdhimat, nothing is known. In the reign of the Karkotaking Ajitapida, there lived a poet named Sankuka who composed a poem called *Bhuvanabhyudaya*. The theme of the book was centred round the conflict between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka.[29] The work has not come down but quotations from it are presented in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*.[30] Sankuka's verse has also been quoted in *sarngadharapaddhati* and *Suktimuktavali*, and there his fathers name has been given as Mayara.[31] Further, the name of Sankuka has been referred to in the fourth chapter of the *Kavyaprakasa* and his opinion on a point of poetics is considered authoritative.[32]

It is quite likely that some of the Karkota kings themselves cultivated the art of poetry; fragments of poems written by

Muktapida and Jayapida are preserved in *Subhasitavali*.[33]

The early Kasmirians were as distinguished in the field of poetics as in poetry and the Karkota period produced some great writers on the subject. The oldest of them is Bhamaha, son of Rakrilagomin. Probably he lived in the beginning of the 8th century.[34] Bhamaha's Kavyalamkara[35] is the earliest work of poetics which has come down to us. It contains 398 verses and is divided into six chapters which deal with such topics as *kavyasarira, alamkara, dosa, nyaya* and *sabdasuddhi*.

Whether Bhamaha was a Buddhist or not, has been a matter of much controversy among historians. The *Kamadhenu* and the *Vrttaratnakara* quote some verses from Bhamaha which are not found in the *Kavyalamkara*. Some of these verses indicate that Bhamaha wrote a book on metrics also. Bhamaha's views and writings have been quoted by Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammata, and Vamana. Udbhata, the court poet of Jayapida[36] appears to have written a gloss on his *Kavyalamkara Samrhgraha* named *Bhamahavivarna*,[37] but the work is not extant.

Udbhata was a reputed writer on *alamkara*. Besides *Bhamahavivarna*, he wrote an independent treatise, the *Alamkarasamgraha*[38]. In six chapters and in seventy nine *karikas*, it defines forty-one types of figures of speech. Udbhata wrote a poem too, entitled the *Kumarasambhava*. The work has not survived, but some verses from it are found in his *Alamkara samgraha*.

Udbhata's contemporary was Vamana, another writer on poetics, who also adorned the court of jayapida.[39] His *Kavyalamkarasutra*[40] is divided into five chapters and deals with the whole sphere of *alamkara-sastra*. According to Vamana, the soul of the poetry is the style (*riti*).

Lollata, who according to the evidence of Abhinavagupta,

controverted the view of Udbhata, might have lived in the beginning of the 9th century. He seems to have championed the theory of *rasa*. None of his work has come down, but he is credited by Abhinavagupta and other later writers with the authorship of a commentary on Bharata. Some of his verses are quoted by Mammata and Hemacandra. From quotations preserved by Abhinavagupta it appears that Sankuka criticized his theories on *rasa*. It is not clear whether this Sankuka is the author who wrote *Bhuvanabhyudaya* composed during the reign of Ajitapida.

The Karkota rule was supplanted by that of the Utpalas. Among the poets of this age, Kalhana mentions Muktakana, Sivasvamin, Anandavardhana and Ratnakara who obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883).[41]

Sivasvamin, also known as Bhatta Sivasvamin, was an ardent follower of Buddha. He wrote a poem named *Kapphinabhyudaya*, describing the expedition of Kapphina, king of Daksinapatha against Prasenajit of Sravasti. At the end of the war, which resulted in his victory, Kapphina accepted Buddhism and renounced his worldly attachments.[42] Some of the verses of Sivasvamin are quoted in Ksemendra's *Kavikanthabharana* [43] and Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*.[44] Otherwise, Muktakana is known only from quotations preserved in Ksemendra's *Kavikanthabharana* and *Suvrttatilaka*.[45] Ratnakara has been identified with the author of the great *kavya* named *Haravijaya*, an enormous epic in fifty cantos which describes the defeat of demon Andhaka in the hands of Siva. From the colophon of the work, it seems that Ratnakara whose full name is given as Rajanaka Ratnakara Vagisvara composed the poem during the reign of king Brhaspati Cippata Jayapida,[46] who, according to Kalhana, died forty years before the accession of Avantivarman.[47] It is possible that Ratnakara started his

career under Cippata jayapida but was patronised also by Avantivarman. Besides the *Haravijaya Kavya*, Ratnakara is credited with the composition of two smaller poems, *Vakrokti* Pancasika[48] and *Dhvanigatha pancika*. Some of his verses have found place in Ksemendra's *Suvrttatilaka*,[49] in Vallabhadeva's Subhasitavali[50] and in the *Sarngadharapaddhati*.[51] The fame of Ratnakara seems to have spread outside and the poet Rajasekhara praises him for his vast learning and wealth of imagery.[52]

The fame of Anandavardhana rests principally on his treatise on the science of poetics. His great work *Dhvanyaloka, Kavyaloka* or *Sahrdayaloka* is a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating *dhvani* as the soul of poetry. Abhinavagupta's elucidation on it, the *Locana*, has given the work a wide reputation. Besides Dhvanyaloka, Anandavardhana composed several poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrt. His *Devisataka* is a lyric written in praise of Parvati. The other poetical compositions are *Arjunacaritamahakavya* (Sanskrit), *Visamavanalila.*, *Harivijaya* (both Prakrt) and Matapariksa.[53]

In the same period as Anandavardhana, seem to have lived three other reputed rhetoricians of Kasmira, Rudrata, Mukula and Induraja.

Rudrata, also called Satananda was the son of Vamana. His *Kavyalamkara*[54] in 16 chapters deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He represents the *alamkara* school and is opposed to the theory of Vamana that *riti* is the soul of poetry.

According to Jacobi, Rudrata lived during Avantivarman's reign and the example of Vakrokti given by Rudrata (II, 15) was prompted by Ratnakara in his *Vakroktipancasika*.[55] Rudrata was not the author of the *Srngaratilaka* as some scholars have presumed[56]; the book was written by Rudrabhatta.

Mukula was the son of the famous Saiva philosopher Bhatta Kallata who lived in the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). His *Abhidhavrttimatrka* [57] deals with the theory of various rhetoricians on *abhidha*, the 'appellative power' residing in words.

Induraja, also known as Pratiharenduraja, was a pupil of Mukula. He was born in Konkan, but afterwards migrated to Kasmira. Only one work, written by him, has come to us. It is a commentary on 1 Udbhata's *Kavyalamkara* and is entitled the *Kavyalamkarasaralaghuvrtti* .[58]

We learn from Kalhana that a poet named Bhallata lived in the reign of Samkaravarman.[59] An extant work named *Bhallatasataka*[60] evidently belongs to him. Verses from this work have been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra and Mammata. Some passages from this work also occur in the *Sarngadharapaddhati* and in the *Subhasitavali*.

Another contemporary litterateur of Samkaravarman was Jayanta Bhatta. Three books of Jayanta Bhatta have so far been recovered. They are the *Nyayamanjari*[61] the *Nyayakalika* and the *Agamadambara*.[62] All of them are standard works on *nyoyasastra*. In the *Nyayamanjari* and *Agamadambara*, Jayanta Bhatta mentions the name of king Samkaravarman. So he can not be placed earlier than that monarch (A.D. 883-902). Then, the author of the *Kadambari*, Abhinanda, who was Jayanta's son, says that Jayanta's great grandfather was a minister of Lalitaditya. Lalitaditya reigned about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Jayanta, being four generations removed from Lalitaditya, could not possibly have lived much later than the last quarter of the 9th century.

It is not unlikely that king Samkaravarman himself also composed several poems. In the chapter on political history it has been noted that another name of Samkaravarman was

Yasovarman. A lost drama entitled *Ramabhyudaya*, written by one Yasovarman, which is cited by Anandavardhana in his *Dhvanyaloka*,[63] probably belongs to him. Some verses written by a poet called Yasovarman are also preserved in the *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* and *Subhasitavali*.[64] Possibly they were written by Samkaravarman alias Yasovarman.

The poet who comes next is Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhatta, whose *Kadambari-Kathasara* is a metrical summary of Bana's prose romance. Abhinanda traces his ancestry from Sakti, who was originally an inhabitant of the Gauda country but afterwards migrated from his native province and settled in Kasmira. From Abhinavagupta's mention of poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta at the end of the 10th century[65] and from the fact that Abhinanda's father Jayanta was a contemporary of Samkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), it may be inferred that Abhinanda lived in the first part of the 10th century. Although Abhinanda mentions one of his ancestors as an inhabitant of Gauda, it is not clear whether he is the same as Gauda-Abhinanda, whose verses are quoted in the *Sarngadharapaddhati*.[66] Some of the anthologies such as *Sarngadharapaddhati*, *Kavindravacanasamuccaya*, *Saduktikarnamrta* and *Suktimuktavali* quote verses written by an Abhinanda and not Gauda-Abhinanda. The *Kavindravacana - samuccaya* which refers to him can not be assigned to a period later than the 10th century. So Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been much removed from the author of the *Kathasara*. .But it is not known whether this Abhinanda of the anthologies is identical with Gauda Abhinanda or with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta. The author of the *Kathasara*, however, must be distinguished from another Abhinanda, the son of Satananda and the writer of an epic called *Ramacarita*.[67] The name of Abhinanda has been mentioned and his poem *Kadambari-*

Kathasara has been held in high esteem by some later Kasmirian writers.[68]

As already noted in the chapter on religion, Kasmira was a land par excellence of the Saiva faith and it had developed a particular system of Sivaite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism (*advaita*). The earliest writers, who propounded and expanded this doctrine, belonged to the Utpala period. The exact date of Vasugupta, the founder of the Kasmira Saivism is not known for certain. But as his disciple Kallata lived at the end of the 9th century A.D.[69] he also may be placed near about the same period. Most of his works are now lost. His *Spandamrta* has probably been incorporated in the Spandakarikas and his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* called the *Vasavi-Tika* may perhaps be traced in the first six chapters of another *Tika* on the *Bhagavad Gita* called Lasaki, by Rajanaka Lasakaka. About the personality and lineage of Vasugupta, all that we learn from his pupils is that he lived in his retirement as a holy sage in the Sadarhadvana (Harwan).

According to Kalhana's evidence, Bhatta Kallata 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people' at the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). He was a pupil of *Vasugupta* and wrote a commentary called *Spandasarvasva* on his teacher's *Spandamrta*. It is still extant[70]. He was also the author of the *Spandakarikas*, an exposition on the work of Vasugupta.[71] His two other books, the *Tatvartha-Cintamani* and the *Madhuvahini*, are now lost. Both of them were commentaries on the Siva Sutras.

The next author on Saiva philosophy was Somananda. He wrote *sivadrsti* and a *vrtti* on it in which he marshaled philosophical reasonings in support of Vasugupta's teachings. Abhinavagupta, who lived towards the end of the loth and

the first part of the 11th century, was fourth in succession from Somananda in a line of spiritual tutelage. Somananda, therefore, might have flourished towards the end of the 9th century.[72] Somananda was most probably a pupil of Vasugupta.

Somananda's disciple Utpala was the author of as many as six works. These were *Pratyabhijnakarikas, Vrtti* on it, *Tika* on it (lost), *Isvara-siddhi, Ajadapramatr-siddhi* and *Stotravali*. He possibly flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century.

Utpalacarya's pupil Ramakantha (c. 925 A.D.) wrote a work entitled the *Spandavivrti*. He is also credited with the composition of two commentaries, one on the *Matanga Tantra* and the other on the *Bhagavad Gita*. None of the commentaries, however, has come down to us.

In the later part of the 10th century, comes Mahamahesvara Abhinavagupta. A prolific writer, he obtained as great a reputation in the field of poetics as in *Saivadarsana*. From a study of the concluding portions of his two works, *Tantraloka* and *Paratrimsikavivarana*, we learn that he was born in á reputed Brahmana family.His grandfather was Varahagupta; his father was Narasimhagupta alias Cukhala; and his younger brother was Manorothagupta. In quest of learning, he travelled over various parts of Kasmira and also visited many places outside the valley. Among his teachers were Bhattenduraja, Laksmanagupta and Bhatta Tauta.

Abhinavagupta wrote as many as forty one books,[73] some of which exist, while several are known only by name. His *Lacana*[74] is an extremely profound and difficult commentary on Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyaloka*. His *Natyalocana* and *Abhinavabharati* are commentaries on Bharata's *Natyasastra*. Among works other than those of Saiva philosophy, he composed *Bhairavastatra; Mohapadesavimsati, Kramastotra* and *Ghatakarparavivrti*. His more important works on Saiva

philosophy include *Para-Trimsikavivarana, Siva-Drstyalacana, Pratyabhijnavimarsini, Pratyabhijnavivrti vimarsini, Tantraloka, Tantrasara, Paramarthasara* and *Malinivijayavarttika.*

Abhinava's literary career extended over a quarter of a century from the year 4066 (the date of composition of *Kramastotra*) to the year 4090 (the date of composition of the *Brhat Pratyabhijnavimarsini*) of the Laukika era, i.e., 990-1014 A.D. In view of the fact that his literary career started in a fairly mature age, his date of birth may be placed sometime between 950 and 960 A.D.

Not long after Abhinavagupta, came Mahimabhatta, the rhetorician. In his *Vyaktiviveka,*[75] he controverted the *dhvani* theory of Abhinavagupta. He was a champion of the *anumana* theory of *rasa* and according to him all that pass by the name of *dhvani* are really cases of inference.[76] Mahimabhatta's attempt to kill the theory of *dhvani,* however, seems to have apparently failed as it could not convince the later writers who often quote him but only to refute his theory.

Mahimabhatta quotes Abhinavagupta who lived at least upto 1014 A.D. His own works have been reviewed by Mammata, whose approximate date is the middle of the 11th century. Mahima thus flourished between the two. Mahimabhatta's preceptor Syamala has been referred to by Ksemendra, who lived between 1014 and 1066. This also agrees well with the view that Mahimabhatta lived in the first half of the 11th century.

Mahimabhatta wrote another book, the *Tattvoktikosa,*[77] in which he discussed the nature of *pratibha.*

Ksemendra, the next great litterateur, was not a man to hide his light under a bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time'. He was born in a well-to-do family. His father's name was Prakasendra and

grandfather's name Sindhu. By birth he was a Saiva but laterly, under the teachings of Somacarya Bhagavata, he became Vaisnava.

His course of studies seems to have comprised all the sciences and arts then known in Kasmira. He had a thorough knowledge of mathematics, astrology, medicine, surgery, politics, erotics, and Buddhist philosophy. Ksemendra says that he left the company of dry logicians and grammarians but studied all the lexicons of his time. He was particularly fond of songs, *gathas*, novels and interesting conceits of poetry.

Ksemendra is silent about the date of his birth. But he says in his *Bharata-manjari* that he studied literature with Abhinavagupta, author of the *Vidyavivrti* or the *Pratyabhijna-vrhati-vimarsini*. As Abhinavagupta composed his famous commentary on Pratyabhinja philosophy in 1014 A.D., it is apparent that Ksemendra was born much earlier. His *Dasavataracarita* was composed in the Laukika year 4141 or 1066 A.D. Probably he lived a little longer.

Ksemendra was a versatile genius. He wrote poems, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches and treatises on rhetoric and prosody. His *Bharatamanjari*, *Ramayanamanjari*, *Brhatkathamanjari*, *Padyakadamhari* (lost) and *Avadanakalpalata* are, respectively, the abstracts of the two great epics, the Mahabharata and the *Ramayana*, Gunadhya's *Brhatkatha*, Bana's *Kadambari* and the Buddhist *Avadanas*. All these were written in verse. Among his other works, known only by name, are *Sasivamsamahakavya*, *Amrtarangakavya*, *Avasarasara*, *Muktavali*, *Vatsyayana-sutra-sara*, *Lalitaratnamala*, *Kanakajanaki*, *Nrpavali*, *Lavanyavati* and *Pavanapancasika*. His known and printed works include *Nitikalpataru*, *Carucarya*, *Desopadesa*, *Narmamala*, *Nitilata*, *Vinayavalli*, *Darpadalana*, *Sevyasevakopadesa*, *Munimatamimamsa*, *Caturvarga-samgraha*, *Auciryavicaracarca*,

Kavikanthabharana and *Dasavataracarita*.

In *Samayamatrka*,[78] one of his most original poems, he describes the arts and trickeries of the harlot. The merit of the work lies in its vivid description of droll life painted with great sharpness of phrasing and characterisation. His *Sevyasevakopadesa*[79] contains shrewd reflections on the relation between master and servant. The *Carucarya*,[80] a century of moral aphorisms, gives a pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in contemporary Kasmira. The *Caturvarga Samgraha* deals with the four objects of human life, *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksa*. The *Darpadalana* [81] is a denunciatory harrangue against human pride which is said to have sprung from birth, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and asceticism. They are dealt separately in each chapter with illustrations on each type of boaster. The *Kalavilasa*[82] is a satirical poem of ten cantos in which Muladeva, the legendary master of trickery instructs his young disciple in the arts of roguery. Ksemendra's *Desopadesa* and *Narmamala*,[83] like *Kalavilasa*, also represent his satirical proclivity of mind. In the former, he dilates upon the daily life of different depraved sections of people inhabiting the valley such as cheat, miser, prostitute, bawd, ostentatious voluptuary, students of Gauda, old man marrying young wives, degraded Saiva Guru, the ignorant grammarians etc. The *Narmamala* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the Kayasthas, before the time of Ananta. In his *Aucityavicaracarca*[84], Ksemendra tries to propound that propriety or *aucitya* is the soul of poetry and the figures of speech, if they overstep their proper limits, hurt the *rasa*. In the *Kavikanthabharana* he discusses with the subjects of *kavitvaprapti*, *siksa*, *camatkrti*, *gunadosabodha* and *paricayaprapti*. Ksemendra's *Dasavataracarita*[85] gives in regular *kavya* style, an account of the ten incarnations

of Visnu, viz., Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Nrsimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Krsna, Buddha and Karkya, which is nothing but an abstraction of the Puranic stories.

Mammatabhatta, the rhetorician, seems to have been a later contemporary of Ksemendra. He refers to Abhinavagupta, Mahimabhatta and king Bhoja and as such must have lived in or about 1050 A.D.[86] Though a native of Kasmira, he took his early education at Benares. He was a Saiva by faith and was also a staunch supporter of the grammarian school. [87] His *Kavyaprakasa*, a superb work of compilation, is divided into ten sections (*ullasa*). It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the junctions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech. But Mammata was not only a compiler, he was a critic too. He champions the theory of dhvani and attacks the views of Bhamaha, Bhattodbhata, Vamana, Rudrata, Mahimabhatta and others. Ruyyaka, in his Samketa commentary says that Mammata could not finish his work, and it was completed by somebody else. This view receives support from other commentators as well and Rajanaka Ananda, in his commentary, says that Mammata wrote up to *parikara alamkara* and the remaining portion was written by Allata.[88] The *Kavyaprakasa* has two parts *karikas* and *vrtti*. According to some authorities, the *karikas* were written by Bharata and the *vrtti* by Mammata.[89] Mammata wrote another book entitled the *Savdavyaparacarca*, on the derivation and functions of words.[90]

Somadeva, the author of the *Kathasaritsagara*,[91] was another later contemporary of Ksemendra. He composed his work for the amusement of Suryamati, the mother of king Kalasa and grandmother of Harsa. Evidently, it was written sometime between 1063 and 1089 A.D., when Kalasa was on the throne and Suryamati was still alive. The main theme of Somadeva's

work, like Ksemendra's *Brhatkathamanjari*, seems to be the adventures of Naravahanadatta, son of Udayana and his final attainment of Madanamanjarika as his wife and the land of the Vidyadharas as his kingdom. A large number of tales, legends and witty stories is dovetailed into the principal narrative, which indeed make the collection an ocean of the streams of stories. It consists of 18 books of 124 chapters and more than 21,000 verses. Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara* is generally said to have been adopted from Gunadhya's *Brhatkatha* written in Paisaci dialect. But the Kasmirian Brhatkatha, from which both Ksemendra and Somadeva drew their inspiration, was most probably not the *Brhatkatha* of Gundhya. It seems to have been an old Kasmirian version of the same, which had undergone many changes. This is apparent from tile comparative evidence of the contents of the two Kasmirian versions, and from their divergency with the Nepal edition of the *Brhatkatha*, the *Brhatkathaslokasamgraha* of Buddhasvamin.[92]

About the same period as Ksemendra, also lived Ksemaraja, the writer on Saiva philosophy. Both of them were pupils of Abhinavagupta and as such Ksemaraja seems to have flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Continuing the labours of his master, Ksemaraja wrote a number of works on Kasrnira Saivism. The chief extant works of his are *Pratyabhijna-Hrdaya, Spanda Sandoha, Spanda Nirnaya, Svacchandoddyota, Netroddyota, Vijnana-Bhairavaddyota, Siva-Sutra-vrtti, Siva-Sutra vimarsini, Stava-cintamanitika, Utpalastotravalitika, Para-Pravesika* and *Tativa Sandoha*.

Another Saivaite writer, Bhaskara, who was five generations removed from Kallata in a direct line of spiritual descent, was probably a contemporary of Ksemaraja. He embodied in his *Siva Sutra-varttika* the teachings of Vasugupta. Ksemendra's

pupil Yogaraja may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. He started his studies with Abhinavagupta and wrote a commentary on his *Paramarthasara*.

The poet who followed next was Bilhana. From the last canto of his *Vikramankadevacarita* we learn that he was born at Khonamusa, near Pravarapura, of a pious and learned Madhyadesi Brahmana family. His father was Jyesthakalasa and mother was Nagadevi. Bilhana received his early education at Kasmira and obtained proficiency in grammar and poetics. At the time of the nominal accession of Kalasa, when Ananta was still alive, he left Kasmira and set out on his wanderings in quest of fame and fortune. The places which he visited were Mathura, Kanyakubja, Prayaga, and Varanasi. .At the Court of Krsna of Dahala, he stayed for sometime and probably wrote a poem in honour of Rama. On leaving Dallala the poet visited western India, attracted by the fame of the courts of Dhara and Anhilwad and the sanctity of Somnath Pathan. For some reason not stated, he did not go to Bhoja of Dhara. After spending sometime at Anhilwad, Bilhana embarked from there for southern India and visited Ramesvara. On his way back, he reached the court of Kalyana, where the Calukya king Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1127) admired him and made him his Vidyapati. From the last verses of the *Vikramankadevacarita*, it appears that latterly he fell into dis-favour with Vikramaditya VI and had to leave his kingdom. Does it account for the incomplete narrative of Bilhana which stops with Vikramaditya's Cola war and never refers to his activities beyond the Narmada in 1088?

The *Vikramankadevacarita* is a poem of 18 cantos which glorifies king Vikramaditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyana. It opens with an eulogistic account of the Calukya dynasty.

Then the exploits of king Vikramaditya's father are described at some length. At the end the poet comes to Vikramaditya VI and depicts with usual amplifications' the conquests of Vikramaditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Somesvara II, his defeat and capture of his younger and his numerous wars with the faithless Colas'. Though Bilhana has taken a historical theme for his subject matter, his work, in all its essentials, is a kiivya and not a history.

His *Karnasundari* [93] was written as a compliment to the Culukya Karnadeva of Anhilwad whose marriage with a princess it delineates, under the guise of a romantic tale.

Another poem, *Cauri* or *Caura-Surata-Pancasika*, which is of unknown date and authorship is generally ascribed to Bilhana. The poem consists of fifty amatory verses, sung in the first person, on the topic of secret love. In one of the South Indian versions, a text called *Bilhatta Kavya* is attached to the poem, which says that Bilhana repeated these verses when, caught in a secret intrigue with the daughter of a king, he was going to be executed. These glowing verses uttered by the poet moved the king who ordered his release and gave his daughter in marriage with him. But the story differs widely in different versions. Similar tales are told about other poets and the place of occurrence of the alleged incident also varies. Under these circumstances, it seems that the *Caura Kavi* was not identical with Bilhana. The stanzas of *Caurapancasika* were probably some floating verses of unknown authorship which were ascribed to different writers in different periods.

Not long after Bilhana, came the poet Sambhu, who lived in the court of king Harsa. His *Rajendra Karnapura*[94] is a high flown panegyric eulogising his patron and his *Anyoktimuktalata*[95] is a collection of verses on various topics indicating indirect

meaning.

The First Lohara dynasty came to an end with the death of Harsa and the second year of the 12th century marked the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty on Kasmira throne. Among the litterateurs who received patronage of this court, were the celebrated poets Jalhana, Mankha and Kalhana.

Jalhana was a contemporary of Uccala. We learn from Mankha that when Sussala acceded to the throne after Uccala's death, he left the valley and went to the court of Rajapuri. There he wrote a poem called *Somapalavilasa* on the history of the king Somapala. His *Mugdhopadesa* [96] is a poem ethical in character.

Mankha or Mankhaka wrote his poem *Srikanthacarita* between the years 1135 A.D and 1145 A.D. The theme of the work is the Puranic legend of Siva's overthrow of Tripura. But besides the story of Tripura's defeat, several cantos are employed in describing the usual accessories allowed in kavyas, the seasons, the sunsets, the sunrises, court scenes, amusements etc. In the third canto the author gives an account of his family from which we learn that his grandfather's name was Manmatha and his father was Visvavrata. He had three other brothers, Srngara, Bhanga and Alamlkara, all employed as state officials. Mankha himself held high office under Jayasimha but it is unknown what his designation was. The twenty-fifth or last canto of the *Srikanthacarita* is particularly interesting as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials who assembled at the house of Alarilkara on the occasion of the completion and public reading of the poem. Though as a pupil of the famous rhetorician Ruyyaka, Mankha shows cleverness in rhetorical ornaments, it must be admitted that his work lacks lucidity of expression, freshness and variety.

A dictionary called *Mankhakosa* is current in Kasmira. It is not known whether the writer of the *Srikanthacarita* is also the author of this lexicon.

As already noted, Mankha mentions some of his contemporary poets in the last canto of his book. They are Ananda (XXV, 84), Kalyana (XXV, 80), Garga (XXV, 50), Govinda (XXV, 77), Jalhana (XXV, 75), Patu (XXV, 131), Padmaraja (XXV, 86), Bhudda (XXV, 82), Losthadeva (XXV, 36), Vagisvara (XXV 127), Srigarbha (XXV, 50) and Srivatsa (XXV, 82). Jalhana has been already referred to. About the rest, nothing else is known from any other source.

Kalhana, the celebrated poet-historian of Kasmira was the son of a high functionary of the Kasmira State. His father Canpaka was the '*dvarapati*' or 'Commandant of the frontier passes' during the reign of king Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101). Kalhana's ambition of life was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kasmira. When Jayasimha became the king of Kasmira, after the death of Sussala (A.D. 1 127), Kalhana became his court poet. He composed his *Rajatarangini* between the years 1149-50.

According to Kasmirian tradition, Kalhana wrote another poem *jayasimhabhyudaya*, probably an eulogy of his patron, king jayasimha of Kasmira. The book has not yet been discovered but a verse from this poem has been quoted in *Ratnakatha sarasamuccaya*.

Though Kalhana does not say anything about his own caste, he seems to be a Brahmana. His vast learning as expressed in the *Rajatarangini* accords well with the reputation generally enjoyed by the Brahmin *pandits* of Kasmira. Kalhana's sympathy towards the Brahmanas, as revealed in the pages of the *Rajatarangini*, also tends to show that he was probably a Brahmana. Every doubt in this regard is dispelled

by Jonaraja, the writer of the *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, who calls Kalhana clearly as '*dvija*;'. Kalhana was a Saiva in his religious belief. In the *Rajatarangini*, he pays his devotion in the opening verse of each *taranga* to the Lord Siva and his consort Gauri.

The *Rajatarangini* consists of eight books or *tarangas*. The first book deals with the Gonanda dynasty, several local rulers, Asoka and his successors, the Turuskas i.e. the Kusanas and the Hunas. Book II treats of a line of Kasmira rulers, unconnected with Gonanda's dynasty. The third book begins with the restoration of the Gonanda dynasty and mentions several rulers among whom Pravarasena and perhaps Toramana may be recognized as historical figures. Book IV starts with the accession of the Karkota dynasty. Some of the kings, belonging to this dynasty, are also known from other sources. The Karkota dynasty was overthrown by the Utpalas. The history of Utpala dynasty occupies the fifth book of Kalhana. The sixth *taranga* of the *Rajatarangini* describes Kasmira under the descendants of Viradeva and Abhinava. The seventh book opens with the accession of Samgramaraja of the Lohara kingdom to the throne of Kasmira and ends with the dethronetnent and, death of Harsa. The dynasty to which these rulers belonged is regarded as the First Lohara dynasty. The eighth book starts with the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty and gives a long account of the reigns of Uccala, Sussala and Sussala's son Jayasimha, the reigning sovereign of Kalhana's time. Though the *Rajatarangini* is a literary production of high merit, it will not be doing justice to Kalhana, if we regard his poem simply as a *mahakavya*. It is an admirable collection of historical facts presented in an illuminating garb of poetry and soars in the region of fine art. History takes wings from the inimitable pen of Kalhana.

Kalhana generally indicates the materials which he used for his narrative. He mentions several previous writers on the history of Kasmira. Among these were Suvrata 'whose work', he says, 'was made difficult by misplaced learning; Ksemendra who drew up a list of kings, *Nrpavali*, of which, however, no part was free from mistakes; Nilamuni, who wrote the *Nilamatapurana*; Helaraja, who composed a list of kings, in twelve thousand verses; and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author *Sri Chavillakara* '. His own work was based on eleven collections of *Rajakathas* or stories about kings and on the works of Nilamuni. He further tells us that he took the help of many inscriptions, grants and manuscripts to write his book.

Some of the sources mentioned above, which Kalhana used for his narrative, were themselves of uncertain historical character. Hence the early part of his work, especially the first three books of the *Rajatarangini* have become a conglomeration of history and vague legends. The poet-historian, however, shows more precision from the fourth book onwards for which he had probably at his disposal, materials of a truly historical character, presumably coins and inscriptions, as well as other indigenous sources. The seventh and eighth books of the *Rajatarangini* are graphic and full of facts. The reason is not far to seek. Kalhana was a contemporary of the monarchs of the eighth book and for the history of Harsa and other immediately preceding rulers, he had most probably informations from his father and other older contemporaries.

Inspite of the lack of historical materials in the early portions of his work, Kalhana's splendour of imagination, depth and range of thought and above all the power of centralizing many talents to a single purpose, had given his *Rajatarangini* a literary immortality. Among the special merits

of Kalhana as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, individuality of his characters, accuracy of genealogical statements, high sense of historical truthfulness in later parts of the Chronicle and exactness of topographical details.[97] To these may be added his rare sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhana's account is not written to enforce any particular lesson. He lets his tale tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. This of course does not mean that he confines himself to a mere report. Beside the narrator stands the thinker, explaining the facts by causes and reasons, exposing the principles which underlie them. But he does not use the facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

We realise the qualities of Kalhana more fully as we pass from him to his continuator, Jonaraja. Jonaraja's account also is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses the mind of a great historian.

The rhetorician Ruyyaka seems to have been a contemporary of Kalhana. He quotes from Mankha's *Srikanthacarita* which is said to have been composed between 1135 and 1145. On the other hand the *Kavyaprakasasamketa* of Manikyacandra written between 1159-60 refers to Ruyyaka's *Alamkarasarvasva*. It is thus evident that Ruyyaka flourished between 1135 and 1160. His *Alamkarasarvasva*[98] is a standard work on figures of speech. His other works include *Sahrdayalila*,[99] 'a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formula in four chapters', and *Alamkaranusarini*,[100] a commentary on Jalhana' s *Somapalavilasa*.

Among the minor works which were composed during the last days of the Hindu rule, mention may be made of

Haracaritacintamani of Jayadratha. [101] It was probably written in the 12th or 13th century.[102] In a simple *kavya* style, the book relates in 32 cantos many legends connected with Siva and his incarnations. Some of these legends are placed in famous Kasmirian *tirthas* and afford the author a chance to describe the sacred sites of Kasmira.

Another writer, Jayaratha composed a commentary on the *Tantraloka*. He appears to have lived in the 12th century.[103] If Jonaraja is to be believed, during the reign of Samgramadeva (A.D. 1235-52), a poet named 'Saka lived in his court and made the king the hero of his compositions. [104] Unfortunately nothing more is known of this poet and his writings.

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3. *Ibid.*, II, 16
4. *Subhasitavali* (ed Peterson) 32, 66,69, 1629, 1916, 2275.
5. *R. T.*, III, 129 sqq
6. Bhau Daji *J.B.B.R.A.S* (1861) , pp 208; Max Muller, *India* pp. 312 - 347
7. Perhaps Bana refers to it in his *Harsacarita* when he says
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   Sagarasya param param kapiseneva setuna | |
8. P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 263-278.
9. *Atraca Bharatah asirvacanasamyukta ..... pyalamkrta |*
   Asya-vyakhyane Matrguptacaryeh sodhasamdhripadanvita iyam udahrta | |
10. *Aucityavicaracarca*, 22.
11. *Subh.*, cd. Peterson, 2550, 3 181.
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13. *Babhava Valmikabhavah pura kavih*

tatah prapede bhuvi Bhartemenathatam |
sthitah punaryo Bhavabhutirekhaya
sa vartate samprati Rajasekhara | | Rajasekhara
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18. *R. T.*, I, 176.
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25. *R. T.*, IV, 496.
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29. *R. T.*, IV, 705.
30. *Subh.*, 526,534,750,874, 908, 1156, 1234.
31. Peterson, Intr. *Subh.*, p. 127.
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42. *Rep. on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Bombay Presidency,* R. G *Bhandarkar* (1897), p. xviii.
43. *Cat. Catalog.*, I, pp. 654, 655.
44. *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), p. 129
45. *Cat. Catalog.*, I, p. 459.
46. For the identification of Ratnakara's Bala Brhaspati with Cippata Jayapida, see Bühler's *Report*, p. 42-43.
47. *R. T.*, IV, 703.
48. This work has been printed in Kavyamala series, Bombay.
49. *Suvittatilaka*, ii, 20; iii, 19.
50. *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), pp. 96, 97.
51. Cat. Catalog, I, p. 492.
52. *Masma santu hi catvarah prayo Ratnakara ime |*
ltiva prakto dhatra kaviratnakaro parah | |
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54. Ed. Kavyamala,
55. *Z.D.M.G.*, 56, 763
56. Bühler, Report, pp. 67-68.
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CHAPTER VIII

ARCHAEOLOGY

PREHISTORIC explorations have discovered the occurrence of the Quaternary Glacial Cycles in the valley of Kasmira. The chief geological formations of the Ice Age here are the lacustrine deposits called the karewas which overlay the terminal moraines of the first glaciation and are comprised of two groups, lower and upper, differentiated by the moraines of the second glaciation. The fossil remains of *Elephas hysudricus* obtained in the lower karewas point to Lower Pleistocene age. The intervening moraines are geologically similar to the boulder conglomerates of Potwar region (Dist. Rawalpindi, West Punjab) which contain Pre-Sohan tools. The upper karewa beds represent the second interglacial age and can be equated with similar deposits in the Sohan valley which present pebble tools and flake tools, the products of the Early Sohan industry. From Kasmira proper, however, no palaeolithic tool has as yet been found and human occupation in Pleistocene Kasmira has still to be proved.

The mesolithic or the proto-neolithic period appears to be indicated by a few flakes and cores that were found at

Pampur and Sombur. In the latter potsherds also were noticed in association with the flake industry.

The neoliths of Kasmira come from Burzahom, the well-known menhir site. A trial trench dug at the site yielded polished celts of traps, hoes, pestles and bone implements along with rough handmade ware at a depth ranging from 5 feet to 11 feet 8 inches from the surface. At the bottom, a neolithic hearth too was noticed. But the digging was abandoned without reaching the natural karewa silt. Nor was any attempt made to discover at which particular period of existence of this site as an inhabited locality, the megaliths, that stand on the surface, were erected. Any commitment on the date of the neolithic industry thus would be hazardous and risky.[1]

A chalcolithic culture similar to that of post-Harappa Jhangar culture has been suggested on the basis of supposed associated pottery,[2] but a close examination of the pottery itself proves the assumption to be baseless.[3] Another claim is the discovery of a type of highly polished blackware;[4] the same as the Northern Black Polished Ware,[5] which is found practically allover India. The find of N.B.P. Ware would link Kasmira with the general culture trends of India of 4th to 1st centuries B. c. But the claim has yet to be proved on unimpeachable grounds.[6]

The *Rajatarangini* abounds in references to various types of edifices that were built during the several centuries preceding as well as following the birth of Christ. Hiuen Tsang also mentions that he noticed several *stupas* built by Asoka and Kaniska.[8] But unfortunately hardly any of these has survived. The earliest historical remains are the art ruins of Harwan and Uskur, which are almost certainly later than the 3rd century A.D.

The village of Harwan (ancient Sadarhadvana) situated not

far away from the present capital of Srinagar can boast of yielding the earliest historic archaeological remains. These consist of a *stupa*, a temple and a number of brick tiles of an unique art-character. The *stupa*, probably the earliest of its type in the valley, stands on an open quadrangle. It is square in plan with its base in three tiers and approached by a flight of steps on its western side. The upper part has disappeared but can be reconstructed from a few clay votive tablets bearing in relief miniature *stupas*, which have been found scattered among the ruins of the environment. Like the existing *stupa* of Harwan, the stupa depicted on the tablets has a triple base, all the three flights of steps leading up being in line with one another. A cylindrical dome with a bulging hemispherical top towers up from the upper basement which is surmounted by a number of parasols (*chatravali*) in a tapering row of flat discs and diminishing in size, until the topmost one ends in a pointed finial. The *chatras* seem to have been supported by a forest of poles radiating onwards. Several waving streamers are attached to the finial. The Buddhist creed *Ye dharma hetuprabhava* etc. is written on the plaque in *Brahmi* characters of about the 4th century A.D. which helps to fix the approximate date of the style of the *stupa*.

The temple, almost in ruins, is a large apsidal structure, square in front and round at the back. The building accommodation consists of a spacious rectangular antechamber with a circular sanctum behind. At Harwan, where large quantities of small pebbles were available, buildings were constructed at first with pebbles and mud-mortar. The pebble style probably could not be a durable structure. Some improvement was made on it when the wall was reinforced with the insertion of irregular blocks of stone at intervals. This type of structure may be called the "diaper-pebble" style.

The latter style was replaced by what may be called the "diaper-rubble" style, in which the walls were composed of large untrimmed stones with the spaces intervening filled with smaller stones. All these different styles in the architecture are presumed to have developed between c. 200 and 500 A.D.[9]

The moulded brick tiles of Harwan, of various shapes and patterns, yield a form of art unique in itself. The style is free from the influence of any other known art school. The sculptors do not deal with gods and goddesses, Buddha or Bodhisattva as most of the members of that class in other parts of the land do. What they deal with is the life of man and the nature around. The pictures, apparently taken from realities of daily life, represent the entire flora and fauna of the locality. The motifs consist of leaves of aquatic plants which grow in abundance in the lakes of Kasmira, leaves of lotus flowers and other flowers of the locality in full-bloom forms; geese flying or running in rows holding stalks of half-blown lotuses in their bills; cocks fighting, rams fighting, cows sucklingthe calves; elephants; deers looking at the moon with head turned backwards; archers on horseback chasing deer and shooting arrows at them; one lady carrying a flower vase, another beating a drum (PI. I, a); a dancing girl; boys carrying a floral festoon on their shoulders; men and women conversing seated in a balcony (PI. I, b); naked mendicants seated in *kakasana;* various designs consisting of frets, wavy lines, fish-bone patterns, conventional ,flowers and leaves-in fact all conceivable subject matter of human life and nature around. To the potters of Harwan no topic was considered to be too unworthy of attention and they depicted them with a picturesque expression, delineating at the same time all the natural characteristic features of the theme.

The sculpture of Harwan can not be said to be the work of

the common people or folk-artist. It attains a certain degree of sophistication and derives its inspiration chiefly from the life of the upper class people. The aristocratic gentlemen, who, clad in full armour hunted the deers with bows and arrows, enjoyed the dances and music of girls, employed soldiers to guard the door and spent leisure-hours in balcony chatting with their beloved ones, as testified by the sculptured tiles themselves, were most probably the patrons of the Harwan artists.

With the purpose of placing the tiles in a serial position, the potter of Harwan inscribed on them consecutive numbers in numerals written in *Kharosthi* script. The *Kharosthi* script ceased to be in vogue in north-west India about the fifth century A.D. The date of the tiles, thus, can be fixed anterior to that date, probably a century earlier, when the script was at the highest pitch of popularity. The Buddhist creed written on a terracotta plaque in *Brahmi* characters of the 4th century A.D. has been already noted. These letters can not be much removed in date from the tiles of the pavement and facade. The Harwan art, therefore, may be fixed approximately found about 300 .A.D.

A close observation of the physiognomical features of the human figures stamped on the tiles will at once reveal that they are wholly unlike any people who at present Inhabit Kasmira or any other part of India. On the other hand, the prominent cheek bones, small eyes, receding forehead and heavy features show some resemblance with the people of the regions round about Yarkand and Kashgar. The Turkoman caps and trousers of some of the figures are also reminiscent of the Central Asian tradition. It is not possible to place definitely these people represented in the tiles of Harwan. But it seems probable that they were people who came from

Central Asia and afterwards settled in Kasmira. Possibly they were un-Indianised Kusanas or members of similar tribal stock.

The artistic and archaeological remains at Uskur do not stand aside like those of Harwan from the principal artistic trends of India; they find culmination for the Gandhara tradition which was so popular in the north-west in the early centuries of the Christian era. Some of the archaeological remains of Uskur are undoubtedly of a later date, the early mediaeval, but a ruined stupa which was afterwards superimposed by another of the Karkota period[10] and a large number of terracotta sculptures (Pl. II, a, b and c) may be very well assigned to an earlier period, that is, the late Kusana. It is no longer possible to have an idea of the elevation of the *stupa*. In ground plan, it has a square base and seems to have closely corresponded the contemporary *stupas* of Gandhara. The sculptures in their artistic style are much alike to the Jaulian sculptures of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and may be of the same chronological horizon. They are evidently the products of the second Gandhara school, which had abandoned the use of hard stone of the First and had adopted stucco in the north-west and terracotta in the more southeasterly provinces as materials for their artistic creations and had developed a style of art, that while it absorbed some of the formalities of the early school, yet had definitely developed a sensitive and romantic style of its own.

The sculptors of Uskur generally employed their skill in depicting the heads of Buddha and Bodhisattvas.[11] Sometimes the ascetic or perhaps the lay worshipper could attract them but were not they too the devotees of Buddha? In fact, the Uskur art was a religious one centred round the cult of the Sakya prince. What strikes one most in these terracotta busts is the variety of their wonderful facial expression. Buddha,

sometimes in his contemplative look or with eyes closed altogether, appears to be abstracted from the outer world. Bodhisattva Siddhartha Gautama with a delicate face and a crown over his head is as charming as ever. The emaciated ascetic shows prominent veins coming out on the face. And the lay worshippers sometimes meditative, sometimes with a rude look on the eyes or at times with a rather vacant look, add to the varieties. In spite of the variety of expression, the Uskur art is stereotyped and delicacy rather than vigour is its ringnote. But that is probably inevitable in a monastic art.

Nearly two centuries elapsed until the advent of the Karkotas opened up a new era in the archaeological history of Kasmira. The intervening period was an age of experiment, both in sculpture and architecture. In architecture the inspiration was chiefly drawn from Gandhara whereas sculptural experiments were fostered by the examples of the Indian plains. This dual influence can be explained by the fact that whereas Gandhara was raising numberless imposing structures of various styles, it had hardly anything to contribute in the region of plastic arts, the force of second Gandhara school having already spent itself in the plains of Uskur. On the other hand, the Indian plains extending from Mathura to Sarnath were bustling with sculptural activity at first under the patronage of the Kusanas and later on under the Imperial Guptas. But their architecture, it must be pointed out at the same time, hardly had anything to show that was really novel and was certainly not grand enough to supersede the semi-classical Gandhara style.

Of the temples of early Kasmira there are at least three which may be approximately assigned to this period. They are the temples of Loduv, Samkaracarya and Narastan. From the stylistic consideration of their sculptured panels, the

ruined *stupas* of Pandrethan too may be ascribed to the end of this period.

The temple of Rudresa at Loduv closely copies the early religious structures of Gandhara in plan as well as in other broad details. It shows particularly a close resemblance to the vihara of Guniyar in Swat valley. The only difference is that whereas in the vihara the barrenness of the cella is relieved internally by four recesses placed diagonally, at the temple the row of projecting brackets which support the eaves of the roof are replaced by a simple cornice consisting of three courses of projecting filleted blocks. The simplicity of the construction and absence of decorative details point towards an early date. The use of immensely large-sized stones which go to the construction of the Martanda or the Avantisvami was unknown to the masons of Loduv. The temple of Rudresa thus can be approximately placed between the Guniyar (5th century) and the Martanda (8th century), probably nearer to the former whose architectural style it copies. Besides this temple of Rudresa, there is another temple of a smaller size in the same site. The temple may be slightly later in date as is suggested by the addition of some architectural features of later development. About the date of the Samkaracarya temple on the Takht-i-Sulaiman hill (Pl. III) clusters much controversy. While Cunningham assigns to it such an ancient period as the 3rd century B.C. on the basis of local tradition,[12] the other extreme view that it belongs to the age of jahangir is held by Fergusson.[13] In the absence of any authentic evidence, Cunningham's view can hardly be taken into consideration. He attributes it to Asoka's son Jalauka, an attribution unsupported by the architectural style of the temple which is definitely post- Mauryan. The presence of two Persian inscriptions on one of the columns of the inner

sanctum, one of which pertains to 1644 A.D., a year in Shahjahan's reign has mainly been responsible for Fergusson's view. Further, he is supported in his theory regarding the architectural features of the temple, by the presence of the horizontal round-headed arch at the bottom of the steps, which, he asserts, must have been copied from the Muslim models. But Catrou in his *General History of the Mughal Empire*, published one year after Aurangzeb's death, ascribes the temple to Solomon.[14] This tends to show that it had already by that time assumed a legendary character. If this is so, it can scarcely be taken to have been constructed during Jahangir's suzerainty. As for the architectural style it may be pointed out that the true round-headed arch is present in the temple of Loduv which, from its architectural features, can not be placed much later than the 5th century A.D. A comparison of this temple with that of Loduv shows that the two closely resemble each other in outer features, in disposition of parts as well as in ornamentation except for the fact that the Samkaracarya has two offsets on each side. The offset of the Samkaracarya temple is an improvement on the temple of Loduv, whose exterior is singularly plain and is, therefore, indicative of a slightly later date. Kalhana mentions a king named Gopaditya who built a shrine of Jyesthesvara on the Gopadri hill.[15] It is not much unlikely that the present temple is but the same shrine. In course of time, portions of the inner sanctuary might have broken down, to be in all probability, retouched in the reign of Shahjahan, whose inscription the cella contains.

The date of the temple of Narastan is uncertain. Stylistically it belongs to a period earlier than that of the Martanda but later than that of the temple crowning the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The pediment and arch-motif of Narastan appear in a more

developed form than that of the Samkaracarya, whereas the introduction of an enclosure-wall forming courtyard and a prominent gateway are new features added to the old which reach logical culmination in the magnificent Sun temple of Lalitaditya by the further addition of cellular quadrangle and other details.

So far as *stupas* of Pandrethan are concerned, one of them is in such a ruined state that only the stairs on the northern and western sides are visible. Another, though dilapidated, has kept a few stones in position, from which the general plan of the building can be restored. The whole structure seems to have been built upon a square basement with recesses in each of the four corners. The drum, though not found in position, was to all appearances elaborately ornamented with sculptural reliefs, some of which have still survived. The *stupa* was surrounded by another wall, the lowest corners of which still stand.

The specimens of plastic art may be divided into two groups, earlier and later. The earlier ones show definite influence of the Kusana school of Mathura as seen from the broad and heavy features, elaborate ornamentation and general fattishness. The male figures with their robust and muscular bodies and the females with their hefty hips and bewitching breasts wear a definitely sexy look, so characteristic of the Kusana art of Mathura. Specimens come chiefly from Vijabror and a few of unknown provenance are also housed in the Pratap Singh Museum. Particularly notable are a female figure (Laksmi?) in Graeco-Roman attire[16] who in her heavy features, elaborate ornaments, well-developed bulging breasts and sensuous appearance is so similar to the Kusana female figures represented in the railings of Mathura; a Visnu image[17] in which the broad and straight shoulders

and a long tunic from the neck to the knees remind one of the later phase of the art of Mathura as seen in the portrait statues of the Saka Kusana kings; and a sculptural representation of Karttikeya,[18] the generalissimo of the gods whose muscular features, folded drapery and long tunic hanging from neck to the knees would ally it with the previous image. The streamers attached to the back of karttikeya's head and streaming sideways indicate Sassanian influence and tends to make the image a contemporary of the Sassanian regime of northwest India.

The later products undoubtedly received their inspiration from the Gupta art of the Madhyadesa which shed radiance all over India. Of this kind of art, Pandrethan was the main centre. The art objects so far recovered are mainly Buddhistic. Among the remarkable ones, mention may be made of several images of Buddha. One standing in *abhayamudra*, with broad and well developed chest, thin waist and a spiritual and compassionate expression in the face appears to be a prototype of the Sarnath Buddha.[19] Another shows drapery very similar to that of the Mathura Buddha of the Gupta period and halo ornamented with beads.[20] An Avalokitesvara image, heavily ornamented[21], may easily be grouped under the same art idiom. But the finest specimen is a relief sculpture which depicts the birth of Siddhartha (Pl. IV, a). Maya, Buddha's mother, apprehending the coming of her child started for her father's home. On the way, she felt the pains of travail and gave birth to the prince. In the sculpture, the queen mother is seen in the middle, holding the branch of the Asoka tree in her right hand while the left rests on her sister Prajapati who appears on the right of the picture. On the extreme left is a figure, who probably represents the god Indra, who, according to tradition came to offer adoration

after the birth of Buddha. A female figure on the top of the relief holds a chowrie. The plastic representation of the whole scene is extremely charming. The well-developed bodies, graceful poise, delicate features of the face and such technical details as long thin elastic fingures with tips backwards, reveal fully the great influence that the Gupta art-phase exerted at the time on the local art of Kasmira.

The date of the earlier as well as of the later phase of this art does not, however, appear to coincide with the dates of the contemporary art schools of Mathura and Sarnath. Both the Kusana and the Gupta art tradition must have taken a pretty long time, possibly centuries, to enter the secluded valley and find a habitation there. The capital of Kasmira was removed from Pandrethan or old Srinagara to the new Srinagara by Pravarasena II who is presumed to have ruled about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The sculptures of Pandrethan are generally assigned approximately to the same period when the city was finally abandoned in favour of the new capital.

The advent of the Karkotas gave a strong impulse to the art and architecture of Kasmira. Huge monumental structures, *stupas*, *caityas* and temples were reared up all over the valley. Most of these are in complete ruins, but the surviving few like the magnificent ashlar dressed limestone *stupa*, *viliara* and *catiya* of Parihasapura, *stupa* of Huviskapura, the marvellous Martanda and the temple groups of Wagnath stand as the sole representative of an age of great artistic activity.

The *stupa* of Parihasapura consists of a double platform, one above the other for the pradaksina of the shrine. The basement is square in plan with a projection on each face; stairways are placed in the middle of projections. The upper

structure of the *stupa* has completely collapsed, the ruins of which cover the top of the base. A large massive block of stone with a deep hole in the middle has been recovered among the ruins. It is suggested that this stone belonged to the finial of the *stupa* and that the hole is the mortice in which was embedded the lower end of the staff of the stone umbrellas crowning the drum.[22] Blocks of round torus stones with slanting bands and fillets have been found scattered in the site. As these stones were not used in the base, it is likely that they were placed on the string course of the drum. The drum of the *stupa* seems to have been ornamented with niches containing the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattvas lying on the spot. The whole structure was surrounded by an enclosure wall. The only *stupa* whose erection at Parihasapura has been recorded by Kalhana was that founded by Cankuna, the Tukhara minister of Lalitaditya.[23] The identity of this *stupa*, the only building of this kind to be found at Parihasapura, with the lofty structure of Cankuna is likely.

The *vihara* of Parihasapura is a quadrangle of twenty-six cells surrounding an open courtyard. The cells are preceded by a verandah supported on pillars. The structure has an opening in the east with flights of steps. Kalhana says that Lalitaditya built a large monastery in the town of Parihasapura, called Rajavihara.[24] A second *vihara* is said to have been founded in the same place by his minister Cankuna.[25] It is difficult to say which of them is represented by the existing monastery.

The *caitya* of Parihasapur a is a square chamber surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and supported on a set of four columns. A flight of steps on the east leads to the entrance. The inner chamber contains a single block of stone on which the object of worship probably rested. The whole courtyard is

surrounded by a wall. The roof was most probably like the Brahminical temples, pyramidal in shape.

Kalhana mentions in the *Rajatarangini* that Lalitaditya built at Huviskapura a large *vihara* with a *stupa*.[26] The remains of the basement of a ruined *stupa* found at Uskur may represent the same. In its ground plan, the *stupa* surrounded by a wall closely corresponds to that of Parihasapura.

The noblest architectural survival of the Karkota period is the temple of Martanda (PI. V) which has been very aptly described by a critic as the veritable lion of Kasmirian architecture. Situated on the tableland of Mattan, overlooking the green plains below, intersected by rivers and lakes and Villages in the environments and surrounded by snow-capped mountains, the temple commands a grand view. The simple dignity and massiveness of the architectural style also stand in close conformity with the grandeur of its natural position.

The design of the Martanda consists of a central structure composed of the *garbhagrha, the antarala,* and the *ardhamandapa* with a small chapel on either side of the half temple, standing within a rectangular courtyard surrounded by a cellular quadrangle with an, imposing gateway for the entrance. The whole structure stands upon a raised plinth.

The roof of the temple has completely disappeared. Though many surmises have been put forward regarding its form and material, the view originally held by Cunningham that it was of usual pyramidal type and constructed of stone seems plausible enough.[27]

According to Cunningham, the central shrine with its adjuncts was built by Arya Raja and Ranaditya between A.D. 370 and 500 while the peristyle was the construction of Lalitaditya.[28] But the passage in the *Rajatarangini* concerning

the building of the Martanda temple shows that the whole edifice was erected during Lalitaditya's reign.[29]

To the north-west of Srinagara, near the village of Wagnath, stand three groups of buildings. The southern group, surrounded by an enclosure wall consists of as many as seven temples. The principal temple, square in plan with entrances on the east north-west and west south-west and with closed niches on the other two sides is generally .taken to be the Jyesthesa temple said to have been built by Lalitaditya in the *Rajatarangini*. In the northern group, there are six temples of which the principal one closely tallies with the largest temple of the southern group both in style and dimensions. Probably this was the Bhutesa temple built by Lalitaditya.[30] The third group in the midway is in an extremely dilapidated state and can not be placed to any definite chronological setting.

The sculptures of the Karkota period have come from the Buddhist establishments of Parihasapura and the Sun temple of Matan. At Parihasapura, the motifs generally are Buddha and Bodhisattva. Like the fragments of Pandrethan the Buddhist sculptures of Parihasapura reveal in them the influence of the Gupta art school, but lack the vigour of the preceding age and a general effeminacy in style pervades them all. The tender modelling as well as the facial and physiognomical type closely resemble the last phase of the Gupta art as exemplified in the late Gupta and mediaeval sculptures of Sarnath. There are some peculiarities in the iconographic details. A figure, in which the head is crowned with a coronet of three jewelled crescent, wears the monastic robes of Buddha and not the princely attire of Bodhisattva.[31] Another Bodhisattva image has a logenge-like mark on the chest, so similar to the *Srivatsalanchana* of Visnu.[32] In fact some of the iconographic conceptions of the Hindus were borrowed by the Buddhist

artists in later days and the mark on the chest of this Bodhisattva figure may be an example to the point.

The Karkota art is more vigorous and vital at the Martanda. Here most of the sculptures are gone, but a few that remain, while showing a general affinity with the Gupta art-idiom, maintains its own individuality. The icons are Brahminical, particularly notable of which is a *caturatman* Visnu, but for the relief appearing as three-faced, with the human face in the centre and those of lion and the boar on two sides.[33] Here, in the Martanda temple, is the genesis of that art school which, as will be seen, assumes a truly national character in the succeeding age of the Utpalas.

The architectural and art trends of the Karkota period reach a logical culmination in the next generation under the Utpalas. The temple of Avantisvami, built in Avantivarman's reign (855/56-883 A.D.) with its courtyard, peristyle and basement of the central shrine appears to have been a very complete conception (Pl. VI). But for the fact that it is a temple of the *pancayatana* type, with an independent replica structure of the central shrine in each of the four angles of the courtyard, it copies closely the plan of Martanda having a rectangular courtyard, penetrated by a gateway which is a replica of the central shrine standing at the middle of the courtyard, the quadrangle being surrounded by a cellular colonnaded peristyle. There is also hardly anything riew in the architectural style. But compared with the temple of Martanda, the Avantisvami temple is a more refined product of art.

Of the other buildings of the Utpala period, the temple of Avantisvara, also built by Avantivarman, is sadly mutiliated. But the extensive courtyard indicates that it must have been one of the best achievements of the Kasmira architecture. The temple of Buniar composed of a lofty central edifice, standing

within a large quadrangle, surrounded by a colonnade of fluted pillars with intervening trefoiled-headed recesses, is so similar to the temple of Avantisvami that it can very well be placed in this period. The Dhathamandir on the Jhelum road is of the same style as Buniar minus the latter's columns in the peristyle and may be assigned to the same age. The temples of Patan, the Sugandhesa and the Samkaragaurisvara, were built during Samkaravarman's reign and closely resemble the Avantisvami. Though in ruins, the second one appears to have been particularly imposing. But kings, with resources wasted in the battlefield, have already started robbing the materials of the earlier temples, to decorate their newly built ones.[34] The sign of decadence has already set in.

The temple architecture of Kasmira has got certain peculiar characteristics of its own. The principal features consist in the classical design of the temple, the presence of trefoil arch within high pitched triangular pediment, the use of pyramidal roof and domeshaped ceiling and the employment of fluted pillars with capital resembling the Doric order.

The temple of ancient Kasmira was conceived as a whole leaving no opportunity for further addition. In this respect it is different from the temples of the plains of India. The cellular quadrangle, with the central structure in the middle of the courtyard, was undoubtedly copied from the monastery of the Buddhists. The trefoiled arch, which is invariably present in the recess or niche of a Kasmira temple, seems to be copied from the stupas and monasteries of Gandhara. The pediment too has its prototype in some of the oldest structures of the same land. The straight-sided pyramidal roof of the Kasmirian temples fundamentally differs from the roofs of the temples of India proper, which were either of the curved pyre or of the stepped roof type. The pyramidal shape was necessitated

by the climate of the valley, where snowfall is a common feature. Two types of ceiling are mainly discernible in the temples. One of these was formed of overlapping stones, a system followed in the plains of India also. But the other type, the domeshaped, was peculiar to Kasmira. These domes were hemispherical in shape. They were constructed of concentric horizontal courses, each circle projecting beyond the one below it. The opening of the top was closed with a single slab in which a lotus was sometimes engraved. The cella being square, the plan was first reduced to the circle by filling in the corners with light pendentives. As to the pillars used in the temples, all authorities agree that they were of the Doric order. There is, however, some difference which may be observed in the style. Though the upper member of both is an ovolo, the Kasmirian column is decorated with the design of a series of full blown lotus petals. The abacus of the Kasmirian pillar is also different inasmuch as it possesses ranges of mouldings over it. The Doric columns have twently flutes, but the number of flutes in the columns of kasmira varies from twelve to twenty-four. Some of the classical features in the architecture of Kasmira are undoubtedly to be sought in Gandhara, to the artistic conventions of which ancient Kasmira owed a great debt. But whereas in Gandhara architecture the capital is invariably Corinthian, in Kasmira, it is quasi-Doric. This may indicate that the sources of Kasmirian style did not come wholly from Gandhara.

Turning to the plastic art of the Utpala period, as perceived through the medium of different Brahmhical icons, we cannot but note that it has assumed a distinctive national character. Connected with the art traditions of the later Gupta or transitional period only in a very general sense, it is no longer subdued by any foreign art school. The four-headed Visnu,

heavily ornamented and clad in *dhoti* with a dagger attached to the jewelled girdle at the waist, is the most popular figure of the period.[35] The powerfully massive form of his physique is shaped with vigour and discipline; every lineament is indicative of a masterful force. The facial expression is in sharp contrast with the earlier passionless calm features of Buddha and Bodhisattvas of Pandrethan and Parihasapura. The wide awake and piercing eyes, closely pressed lips and acquiline nose present a face that inidicates an overwhelmingly powerful will dominating all the faculties of the mind. And is not the dagger, attached- to the waist, an external symbol of the unbending disposition of the god?

Other sculptures too, Kamdeva seated between his consorts Rati and Priti (Pl. IV, b), Krsna amidst the scenes of his life, Ganga, Yamuna, Siva trimurti, Ardhanarisvara, Karttikeya and Ganesa, goddess Sri,[36] icons all so much varied, reveal the same innate vigour and force, though quite graceful in their external manifestation.

Scantiness of material does not permit us to trace in detail the causes leading to the change in the attitude of art-expression. It may, however, be noted that the Karkota Kasmira, though it renders a very good show outwardly by making conquests outside its natural boundaries, rearing up great buildings and performing other similar activities, was in reality a subordinate ally of China (see *supra*, pp. 44-46). It was the Chinese money. which made the rise of the Karkota Kasmira possible. Naturally Kasmira identified her own interests with those of her formidable ally. In the field of architecture she produced something really grand which only a superfluous wealth can make possible; but was their anything distinctive original behind it? Her interest in the plastic rendering of Buddha was more due to her association with a Buddhist

power than out of any genuine urge of the nation. were not the Buddhist sculptures of Parihasapura weak replicas of their foreign prototypes? It was only when China disconnected herself from the valley and when the Utpalas after an anarchy spreading over nearly a century came to power, that a national Kasmira came into being. It was the new spirit of the resurgent nation, a new national consciousness, that finds expression in the contemporary art.

In the history of Kasmira's archaeology, a decadence definitely sets in with the end of the Utpalas. No imposing monument like that of the previous period is reared up. The temples of this period, Bumazuv, Pandrethan, Payar, Kother and Mamal are quite humble and there is hardly anything notable in their architecture. In plastic art, the period witnessed the moulding of some fine bronze images.[37] But they are mostly influenced by the sculptures of the contemporary Pala art. The virility and masterfulness which are the distinguishing characteristics of the art of Avantivarman's time are missing in the later specimens. The ordeal of internecine wars through which the valley was passing at this time may very well explain this deficiency.

REFERENCES

1. It is to be regretted that the stone-age materials from Kasmira, which were all obtained by De Terra and his party in their expedition to the valley in 1935, have never been published. Moreover, they are distributed in museums spread over several continents which makes a first hand study of the materials impossible. Under the circumstances, the writer could only note the general observations made by the party in their official report, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures* (Washington, 1939). An account of the menhir site trial excavation is furnished in the paper, De Terra, "Excavations at Burjhama", *Miscellenea of the American*

Philosophical Society (1936).

2. De Terra, *Studies on the Ice Age*, pp. 233-34.
3. D. H. Gordon, The Stone Industries of the Holocene in India and Pakistan, *Ancient India* (No.6), p. 80.
4. De Terra, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
5. Gordon, op. cit., p. 80; Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 39.
6. Is the polished blackware found by De Terra in the mid layers of his trial trench at Burzahom the same as the Northern Black Polished Ware? In the absence of published materials a verdict could not be passed. It is interesting to note that scholars who refer to these pottery of Kasmira naively suggest them as N.B.P. Ware but avoid making any definite commitment. "The polished ware sounds as though it might be Wheeler's 'Northern Black Polished ware,' known for instance from Taxila, dated between the fifth and second centuries B.C." Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 39. "At some point in this 3 to 5 feet layer highly polished black pottery, *almost certainly* 'northern black polished ware' appeared, which can be dated fourth to second century B.C." Gordon, Op. cit., p. 80. N.B.P. Ware can be easily distinguished from any other type of pottery by its peculiar polish, fabric and type. It is surprising that Gordon, even after he had examined the collection of De Terra is still indefinite on the point. A portion of De Terra's collection from Burzahom is now lying in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi. I had the opportunity to examine it and noticed among the pottery a type of polished black sherd. But that is quite unlike the N.B.P. Ware.
7. *R. T.*, I, 86, 93-94, 98, 102-106, 124, 147-48, 170, 306, 341; III, 336-364, 460-465.
8. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 261, 271.
9. Kak, *Ancient Monuments*, pp. 50-51.
10. Kak, *Ibid.*, p. 153.
11. The artists of Uskur did not employ all their energy in depicting heads alone, a large number of fragmentary terracottas showing pieces of bodies, sometimes limbs decorated with ornaments and architectural fragments of ornamental style have been recovered from the ruins of Uskur. They well bespeak the skill of their authors. Some of these fragments have been reproduced in Kak's *Handbook*.

12. J.A.S.B. (1848), ii, p. 247.
13. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, I, pp. 254-55.
14. Catrou, *General History of the mughal Empire*, p. 54.
15. *R. T.*, I, 341.
16. Kak, *Handbook*, fig. Ab. I.
17. Kak, *ibid.*, fig. Ab. 4.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 33, fig. Aa 16.
21. Kak, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. XLV.
22. Kak, *Ancient Monuments*, p. 147.
23. *R. T.*, IV, 21 I.
24. *R. T.*, IV, 200.
25. *R. T.*, IV, 21 I.
26. *R. T.*, IV, 188.
27. J.A.S.B. (1848), ii, p. 267.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 259-263.
29. *R. T.*, IV, 192.
30. *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), Stein, Vol. I, p. 194.
31. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 43.
32. *Ibid*, p. 44.
33. For the full significance and iconographic import of the caturatman Visnu, see J. N. Banerjea, 'Mediaeval Visnu images from Kashmir and some Visnudharmottara passages', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, IV (1940), pp. 61 -64; S. C. Roy, 'A note on an unpublished Visnu image from Kasmira', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII (1951), pp. 251-53. For a typical *caturatman* Visnu image of this period, see Pl. VII. The sculpture probably comes from Harwan.
34. *R. T.*, V, 161.
35. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 50.
36. *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, II, 1913-14, pls. XXVII, XXVIII; Kak, *Handbook*, p. 50 ff.
37. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 10; also *ibid.*, p. 73.

CHAPTER IX

LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

FOOD and drink, dress and ornaments, games and pastimes, luxury and amusements and many other objects of our day-to-day life, are, in a way, expressions of our mental culture, though we may not be conscious of the fact. The ideas and ideals, thoughts and conceptions, meditations and reflections of any people of a particular territory and period, are not confined only within their religion and fine arts, literature and sciences, but are expressed in every sphere of life, and in all its activities. Hence the cultural survey of a nation cannot be complete on a consideration of its religion, literature and art alone; the practical side of the daily life, which is no less an expression of fhe nation's intellectual refinedness, must also be taken into consideration.

We have not enough materials in our possession, with the help of which, a detailed and connected account of the life of people in early Kasmira may be sketched. But many isolated events, bearing on the everyday life, are cattered in the literature of the valley, particularly in the *Nilamatapurana* (c. 7th century A.D.), Damodaragupta's *Kuttanimata Kavya* (9th century

A.D.), *Ksemendra's* Desopadesa, Narmamala and *Samayamatrka* (11th century A.D.), Bilhana's *Vikramankadevacarita*(11th century A.D.) and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (12th century A.D.). Some sidelight is also thrown by foreign travellers like Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.), Alberuni (11th century A.D.) and Marco Polo (13th century A.D.). A somewhat connected account regarding the day to day life of early Kasmira may be formed by weaving these scattered threads into a single texture.

FOOD AND DRINK

Rice was the staple food of ancient Kasmira. Dhanya (rice-crop) and a particular class of it called *sali* have often been mentioned in the early literature of the valley.[1] The *Rajatarangini* points out that the scarcity of rice invariably resulted in disastrous famine. This clearly proves that rice was the principal food of the people. Of various preparations made from rice, boiled-rice, rice mixed with sugar and sugarcane, cakes of rice and meal of dried rice have often been referred to in the *Nilamatapurana.*

Besides rice, barley (*yava*) seems to have formed another important item of food. A particular day of the year was observed as a festival, when the barley became ripe in the field.[2] *Apupa* and *pistaka* (bread and cake) were made from barley.[3]

Pulses too were in use. Damodaragupta in his *Kuttanimata Kavya* speaks of three kinds of pulses, *kulattha, cana* and *masura.*[4] Ksemendra mentions a fourth variety, called *mudga.*[5] Rice and pulses, cooked jointly was known as *khiccari.* This was taken, especially on religious occasions.[6] Another kind of food prepared from pulses was the *parpata* or *papara.*[7]

The nature of vegetable food-stuffs and fruits can be ascertained to some extent from literary evidence. The *Rajatarangini* mentions a kind of wild-growing herb of bitter taste called

utpalasaka which was generally taken by the common people.[8] The herb, now known as *upalhak*, grows abundantly on the mountain slopes of Kasmira and forms one of the commonest vegetables of the Kasmira cuisine. By nature, Kasmira is abundantly rich in fruit. Hiuen Tsang's account seems to show that the pear, the wild plum, the peach, the apricot and the grape were the principal fruit products of the valley in the 7th century A.D.[9] The grape was particularly considered as the fruit par excellence of Kasmira.[10] Onion was regarded as a nutritious vegetable food. [11]

Milk undoubtedly comprised one of the principal diets. Milk of cows and probably also of buffaloes was consumed.[12] Various preparations of milk such as ghee (*ghrta*), butter (*sarpi*), condensed milk (*ksira*) and curd (*dadhi*) were known.[13] Honey (*maksika*) and sugar (*sarkara*) were used to sweeten food.[14]

Salt was a precious article and if Ksemendra is to be believed, it was consumed by the rich alone.15 Among the spices which were used with food, mention may be made of black-pepper, ginger (*maricadraka*) and assafoetida (*hinga*). [16] The chewing of betel-leaves (*parna* or *tambula*) was in vogue, especially as a luxury of the aristocrat.[17]

Meat was one of the most important articles of diet. The *Nilamatapurana* prescribes it on some of the festival days. The fowl and the ram (*kukkuta* and *mesa*) and perhaps also the goat served the dishes. [18] various edible birds too were massacred. [19] In the 11th century A.D., eating of domesticated pigs (*gramyasukara*) might have been a fashion among a section of the people.[20] Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) furnishes us with the information that the food of the people of Kasmira was flesh, with rice and other grains.[21] Meat was generally fried and sometimes highly spiced.[22]

Fish was also taken[23] and fish-juice (*matsyayusa* or *matsyasupa*) was considered to be a particularly strength-giving tonic-food.[24]

Drinking of wine seems to have been quite popular in early Kasmira. In Kalhana's Chronicle of the kings of Kasmira, we meet with a large number of personages who are addicted to drinking. The drinking of wine, far from being forbidden, has been specially recommended on ceremonial occasions in the Kasmiri *Purana*.[25] Juices from grape and sugar-cane, both of which grew in the valley, were distilled into spirituous liquors. The wine, cooled and perfumed with flowers, was appreciated as a delicious drink.[26] Of drinks other than alcoholic, Kalhana mentions a kind of cold sweet drink (*tuhina sarkaram*) which was taken with great delight in hot summer days.[27]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

As regards the dress and ornaments of early inhabitants of Kasmira, we have literary as well as archaeological evidence. The costume of the male population consisted of a lower garment (*adhararmuska*), an upper garment (*angaraksaka*)[28] and turban (*sirahsata*).[29] Hiuen Tsang visited Kasmira during the years 632-635 A.D. He writes that the climate of Kasmira was cold and stern and so' the people wear leather doublets and clothes of white line.[30] The low temperature of the valley, particularly at the time of winter, must have compelled the people to employ woollen garments to cover their body. In one of the passages of the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana refers to the use of woollen blankets (kutha) [31] and in another of warm cloaks (*Pravara*).[32] But the Chronicler points out that fine woollen blankets (forerunner of later Kasmira Shawls?) were allotted for the rich urban people only.[33] The plebeians of modest means probably had to satisfy their wants with

cheaper woollen goods such as the skins of black antelopes (*krsnajina*) and coarse woollen cloaks (*sthulakambala*) which again were sometimes distributed to them by charitable persons.[34]

The fashionable persons kept rather long hairs to which combs were attached.[35] Sometimes, tassels of varied colours were joined with the hairs.[36] Kings and nobles also braided their hair in various styles.[37] The people wore turbans too. While the commoner used ordinary *sirahsata* to cover their head, the aristocrats decorated themselves with beautiful and gorgeous silky head-dresses.[38] Kalhana says that king Harsa's diadem. was fixed to a broad turban.[39]

The men of early Kasmira used different kinds of ornaments which were not very unlike to those of women. In his *Kuttanimata Kavya*, Damodaragupta describes Cintamani, the son of an officer in king's service who wears rings in his fingers, fine gold necklaces and two types of ear-rings, one of which is called *dalabitaka* and the other *sisapatraka*.[40] His attendant has got in his neck coarse and cheap *kacavartakamala* and conchshell bangles in his hands.[41] According to Kalhana's evidence too, the male population of Kasmira used ornaments. These chiefly consisted of finger-rings, ear-rings, necklaces and bracelets.[42]

Men wore shoes which were made of leather.[43] Sometimes the shoes had steel-made soles and floral decorations outside.[44] Ksemendra refers to a particular kind of footwear called peacockshoe (*mayuropanat*) which was a fashion of his day.[45] The use of wooden sandals were also in vogue.[46]

The dress of a woman was composed mainly of sari and jackets. During the reign of Harsa, fashionable ladies dressed themselves in jackets which covered but half the length of their arms and wore long lower garments, the tail end of

which touched the floor.[47] Sometimes a veil was used to cover the face.[48]

The women of early Kasmira were not wanting in their eternal fondness for ornaments. Among the various kinds of jewelleries worn by the ladies of his native land, Kalhana mentions necklaces (*hara*), wristlets (*kankana*), armlets (*keyura*) bracelets (*parihasya*) and ear-rings (*kundala*).[49] A special type of armlet called *valaya kalapi* and ear-ring called *kanakanadi* have been referred to in Damodaragupta's *Kuttanimata Kavya*.[50] *Valayakalapi* was a sort of armlet having the face of a peacock and moon-shaped end.[51] Kanakanadi seems to be palmshaped small ear-drop. In the 11th century A.D., king Harsa introduced several new types of jewelleries. These were golden ketaka-leafed tiaras (*svarna ketakapatranka*), pendants on forehead (*tilaka*) and golden strings at the end of locks (*kesantabaddha hemopavitaka*). [52]

The ladies used camphor, sandal and saffron to toilet and perfume the body,[53] reddened the feet and lips with lac[54] and applied collyrium in the eyes.[55] The ways of dressing the hair were various. Coiffures were decorated with flowers. Sometimes flowers were also bound with locks.[56]

Some idea regarding the constumes and ornaments of early Kasmira of a period prior to that we have already studied from literary sources may be had from a study of the sculptures and terracotta remains of the valley. One of the brick tiles of Harwan depicts a lady carrying a flower vase. She wears transparent robe, a kind of close fitting turban and large earings (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 5, in R. C Kak's *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*). Another tile shows female-dancer wearing loose robes and trousers while a third one gives the picture of a female musician who also dresses herself in trousers (Pl. I, Fig. a). Some of the male figures of Harwan are

dressed in lose fitting trousers and Turkoman caps. The costumes of Harwan undoubtedly show in them the influence of Central Asian dress. The exact period when the people of Kasmira were used to dress themselves in Central Asian fashions cannot be ascertained. It might have taken place in the early centuries of the Christian era. But the Central Asian dress seems to have made its influence felt on the costumes of Kasmira and its adjoining regions for a long time and when Hiuen Tsang visited India in the middle of the 7th century A.D. he observed, in' north India, where the air is cold they (people)wear short and close-fitting garments, like the Hu people' (*Si-yu-ki, tr.* Beal, Vol. I, p. 76).

One of the terracotta tiles of Harwan represents an armed horseman equipped fully with bow and arrow. The flying scarfs attached to his military uniforms may be identical with what Kalhana says virapatta or lapels of the military uniform (*R. T.*, V, 333, VIII, 1774).

Sculptural representations sometime confirm the conclusion that we derive from a study of the literary sources regarding the dress and ornaments of ancient Kasmira. Among the sculptural fragments recovered from Uskur, there is an upper arm encircled by a beaded armlet which seems to have been connected by a similar band with the necklace. Another fore-arm has a bangle round the wrist. The wristlets that were in fashion in those days are illustrated by two other partly broken hands. A fragmentary left hand has a ring on the little finger which is deserving of notice. (For the fragmentary sculptures from Uskur, see R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*). One of the sculptural figures of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara from Pandrethan, represents him heavily ornamented.[57] Among the jewelleries worn by him

one may easily note a three-peaked diadem, an elaborately jewelled necklace, a heavy jewelled wristlet, and a jewelled girdle fastening the *dhoti*. The ornaments must have been taken from real life. One of the Visnu images of Avantipura is crowned with elaborately jewelled three-peaked tiara. It is probable that similar crescented crowns were worn by the kings of Kasmira. 'Ananta's diadem', says Kalhana, was adorned with five resplendant crescents. [58]

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

Dice and chess were the favourite indoor games of the people. Dice-playing has been referred to in several passages of the *Rajatarangini*.[59] Alberuni in his *Kitab-ul-Hind* has left a detailed account of the mode of chess playing which was very popular in the northern provinces of India in the 11th century A.D.[60] Gambling, though in vogue, was regarded as a reprehensible pastime.[61] The game, however, has been prescribed in the *Nilamatapurana*, to be played particularly on the darker 15th of the *Karttika*.[62]

Kanduka krida had been one of the most favourite games of ancient India. Its prevalence in early Kasmira is testified to by Damodaragupta's evidence.[63] Among other outdoor games, hunting was a popular one. A terracotta tile from Harwan depicts a hunter on horseback chasing a deer. There can be no doubt that the picture was taken from real life. Kalhana gives vivid description of kings engaged in hunting accompanied by dogs, bands of dombas and jungle-folk.[64] Jackal hunting was particltlarly popular.[65]

Dancing and singing, as well as theatrical performances, were widely appreciated. A tile from Harwan represents a female musician playing on a drum. Another depicts a dancer in actual dancing posture.[66] The *Nilamatapurana* lays down that *gita, nrtya* and *vadya* were to take place in some of the

religious festivities. Bilhana extols the women of his native land for their cleverness in acting.[67] If Kalhana is to be believed, many of the kings of the valley were lovers of dancing and music and musical plays regularly took place in the illuminated assembly-halls of the royal palace.[68] One of the monarchs, Harsa, not only enjoyed dances and songs, but also taught in person the dancing girls, how to act.[69] Literary evidence testifies to the existence of the institution of *devadasi* in early Kasmira. Dancing and music must have been cultivated by them as well as by ordinary harlots.

In early Kasmira, Bharata's *Natyasastra* was held in high honour and according to Damodaragupta was one of the approved texts of studies.[70] KalhaNa also was aware of the precepts of Bharata on dancing and singing.[71] It is highly probable that many of the dancing performances of early Kasmira were strictly in adherence to the school of Bharata.

According to Damodaragupta, there were luxurious theatre halls in his native valley, fitted with leather-cushioned couches.[72] But these luxury-houses were probably meant for the rich alone. A passage of the *Rajatarangini* tends to show that common people had to witness theatrical performances under an open sky. When caught by a downpour, they had to disperse in all directions.[73]

CONVEYANCES

The conveyances of early Kasmira consisted of horses, carriages, boats, elephants and palanquins. When Hiuen Tsang entered the valley of Kasmira, he was received at the outer end of Pass by the maternal uncle of the king who had been sent with. horses and carriages to escort the pilgrim to the capital.[74] A perusal of the *Rajatarangini* leaves no room for doubt that the horse was an important conveyance and the poet historian often refers to the march of mounted troops

(*asvavara*). The elephant appears in the tiles of Harwan.[75] Kalhana, too, refers to the stables of elephants.[76] It may be presumed that the elephant was used as an aristocratic conveyance. Camels were preferably employed for carrying on heavy loads.[77]

While speaking of the conveyances which were in vogue in contemporary Kasmira, Alberuni remarks: 'The inhabitants of Kasmira are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palanquins called *katt*, carried on the shoulders of men'. [78] That litters were used by the aristocrats receives confirmation from Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.[79] But the first part of the Muslim savant's statement that the inhabitants of Kasmira had no riding-animals can hardly be accepted.

From earliest times, the river Vitasta formed the most important highway of Kasmira. The important towns of the valley were mostly situated on its banks and boats must have been needed to carry on internal trade and traffic. The *Rajatarangini* frequently refers to means of travel in the valley.[80] The busy 'coming and going of ships' was also connected in the mind of Kalhana with the splendour of a large town.[81]

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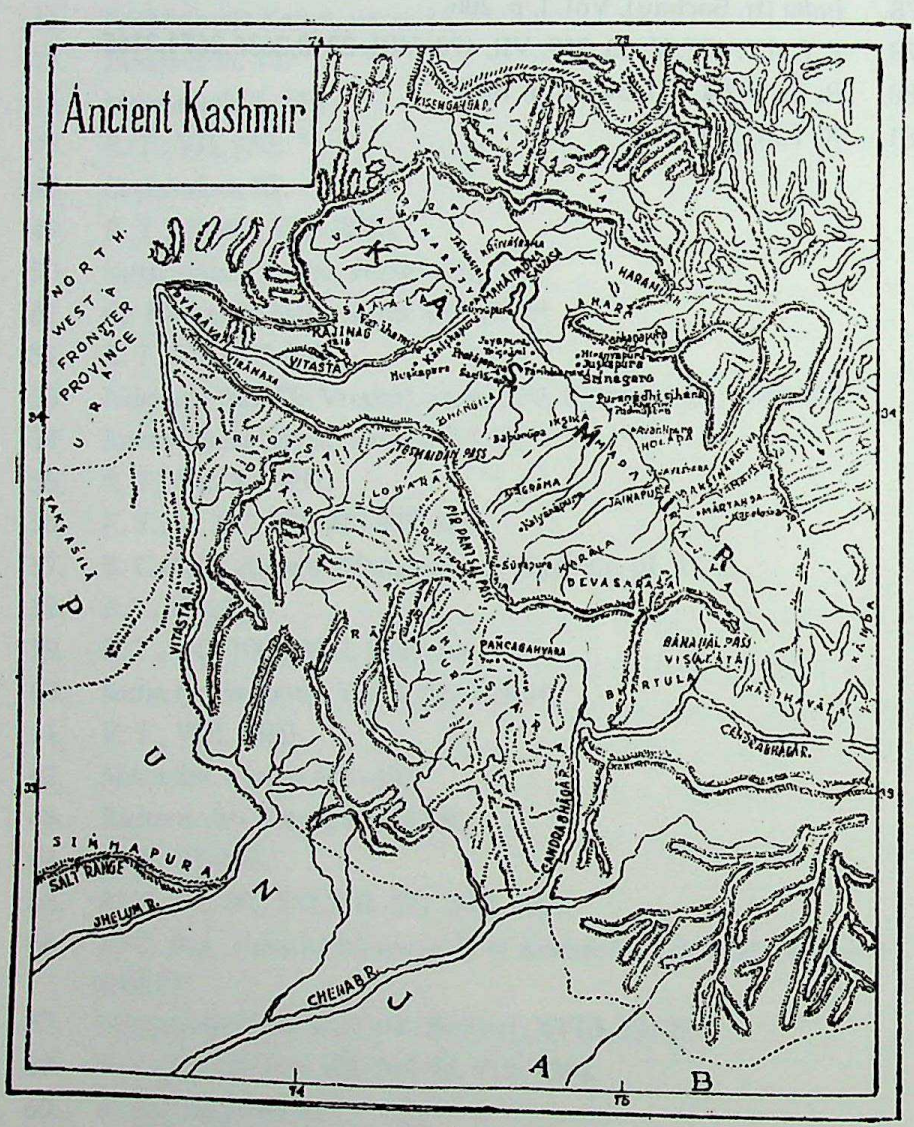

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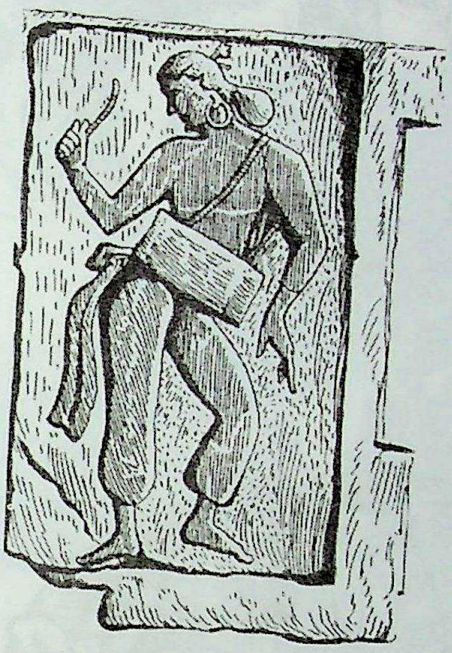
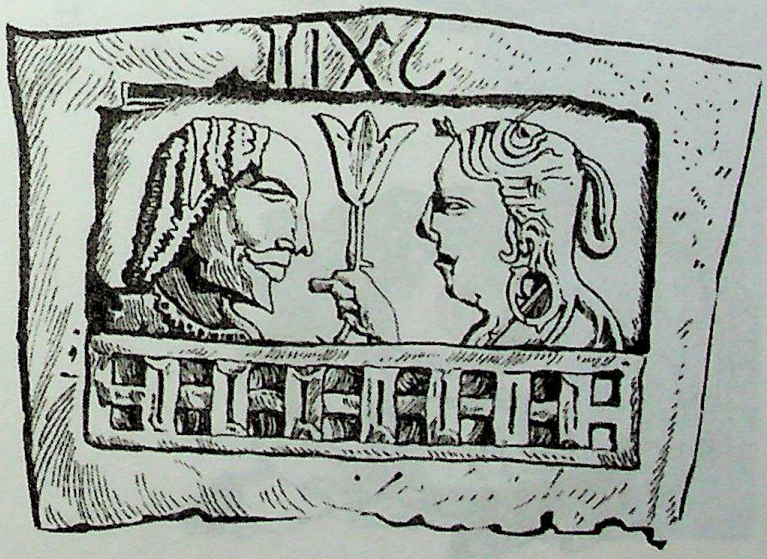


a. FEMALE MUSICIAN, PLAYING ON A DRUM, HARWAN.



a. MAN AND WOMAN FACING EACH OTHER, SEATED IN A BALCONY, HARWAN.

PLATE II

TERRACOTTA HEADS, USKUR

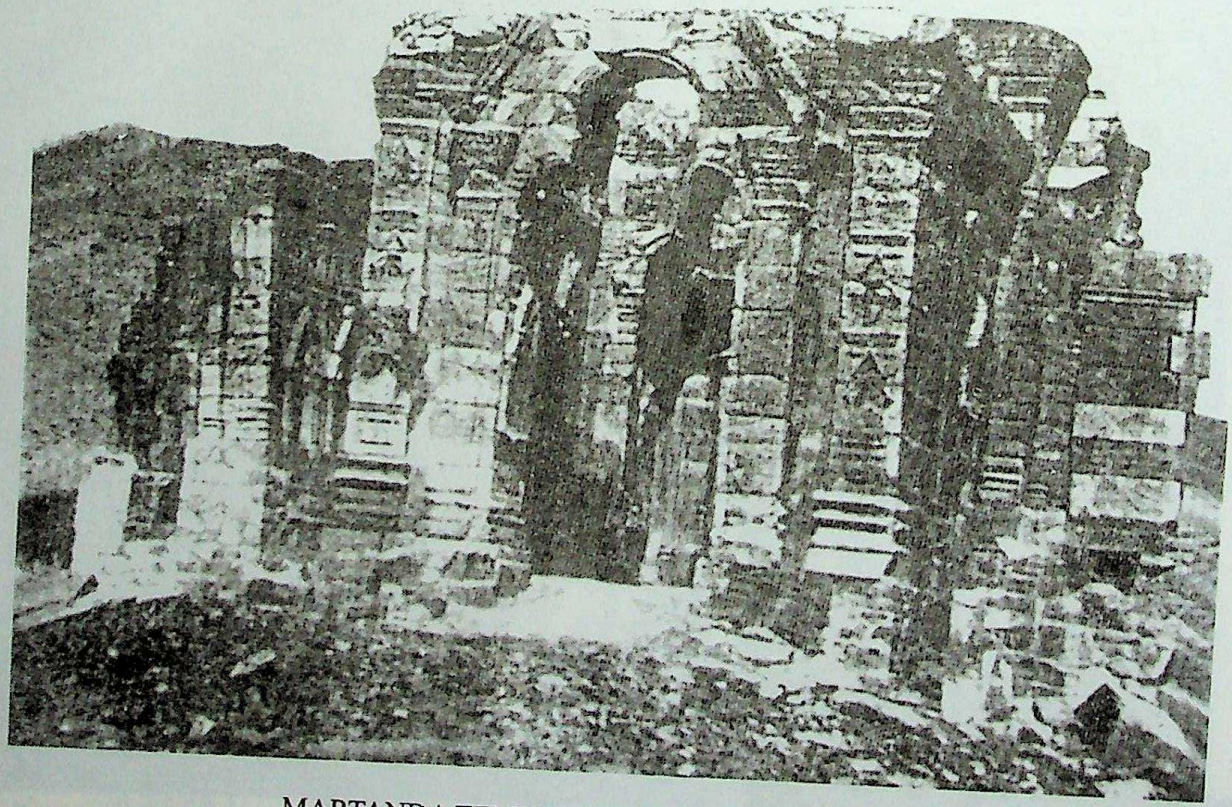
SAMKARACARYA TEMPLE, TAKHT -I-SULAIMAN HILL

PLATE III

PLATE IV

a. BIRTH OF SIDHARTHA, PANDRETHAN

B. KAMADEV SEATED BETWEEN RATI AND PRITI, AVANTIPUR

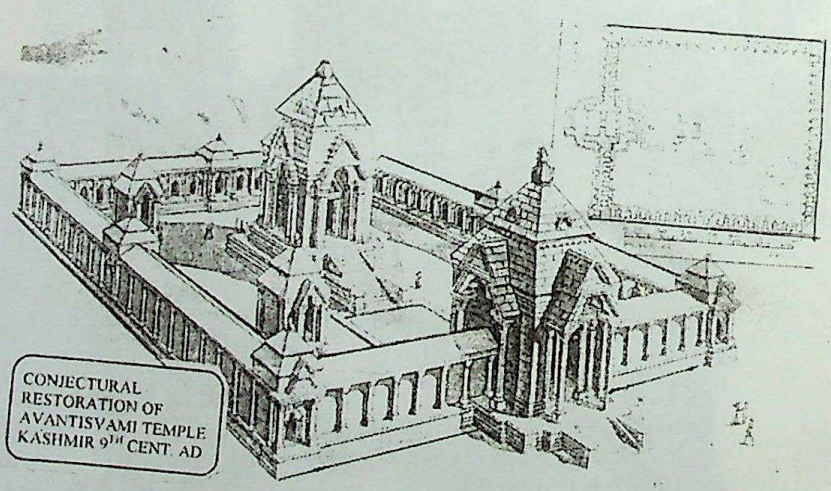


MARTANDA TEMPLE : GENERAL VIEW, MATAN

PLATE V

PLATE VI

a. AVANTISVAMI TEMPLE: GENERAL VIEW, AVANTIPUR.



b. AVANTISVAMI TEMPLE: CONJECTURAL RESTORATION

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PLATE VII

CATURAIMAN VISNU, HARWAN

Early History & Culture of Kashmir

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i. Foreword
ii. Introduction
iii. Preface
iv. Abbreviations
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